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ABSTRACT

International treaties have played a central role in diplomatic history since the rise of the modern nation state. Since the end of World War II, more treaties have been formed than in the preceding four centuries. The year 2001 marks the 50th anniversary of the San Francisco Peace Treaty. This unit provides students with historical knowledge of the San Francisco Peace Treaty and the global issues that influenced its signatories (United States and Japan) in 1951. Through role-playing activities, analysis of primary sources, and writing assignments, students develop a solid understanding of the early Cold War era. They learn about the Treaty's long-term implications through a discussion on contemporary war, grievance-related issues, and by reading speeches by U.S. and Japanese government officials. The introduction provides an overview; gives a rationale and unit goals; discusses linkages to History-Social Science Standards for Public Schools; notes materials and equipment needed; suggests grade levels and subjects; and addresses activities sequence, time needed, homework, and small-group roles. Lessons in the unit are: (1) "Postwar Era and the Origins of the Cold War"; (2) "Perspectives on the San Francisco Peace Treaty and Conference: Using Primary and Secondary Sources"; (3) "Contemporary Issues: The San Francisco Peace Treaty and the Question of War Responsibility"; and (4) "Epilogue: The San Francisco Peace Treaty and U.S.-Japan Relations." Appended are the full text of the San Francisco Peace Treaty; figures related to Japan's postwar reparations; 36 general and geography-specific references, and references for each lesson. (BT)

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# The San Francisco Peace Treaty: The Cold War and the Peace Process.

Rachel Brunette

Stanford University, CA.
Stanford Program on International and Cross Cultural Education.

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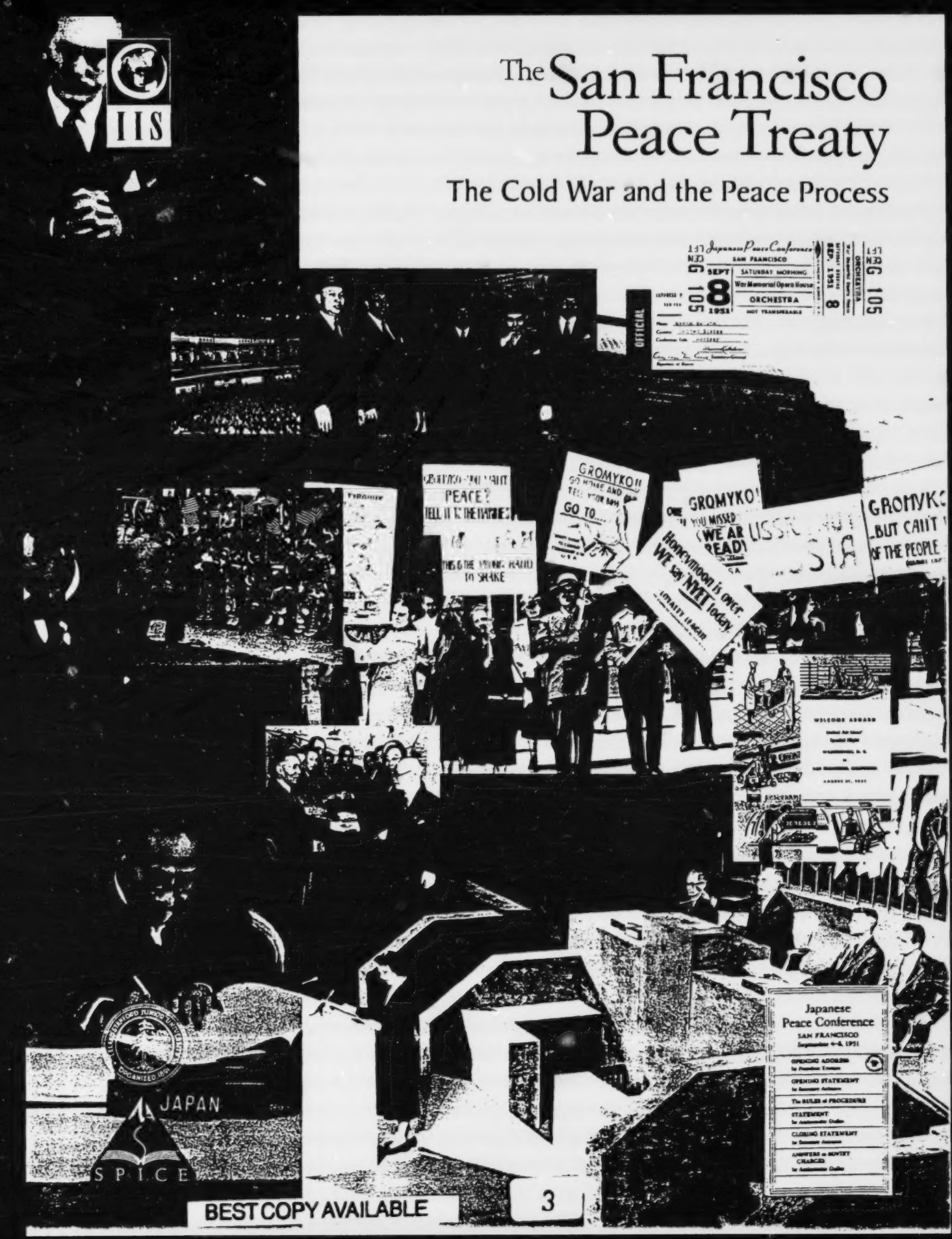
# The San Francisco Peace Treaty

## The Cold War and the Peace Process

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# THE SAN FRANCISCO PEACE TREATY
## THE COLD WAR AND THE PEACE PROCESS

Developed by Rachel Brunette

with contributions from Greg Francis, Tristan Ivory, Maria Kiehn, Isadora Lee, and Gary Mukai

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*Unit Introduction*

# THE SAN FRANCISCO PEACE TREATY

## THE COLD WAR AND THE PEACE PROCESS

### Rationale and Introduction to Lessons

International treaties have played a central role in diplomatic history since the rise of the modern nation state. It is almost impossible to pick up a newspaper without reading an article about international agreements. Since the end of World War II, more treaties have been formed than in the preceding four centuries. Nations have signed treaties on topics ranging from trade to collective defense. As the scope and frequency of treaties in international relations continue to evolve, it is imperative that we increase our awareness of treaties and how they operate.

The year 2001 marks the 50th anniversary of the San Francisco Peace Treaty. As the United States and Japan commemorate five decades of peaceful relations, leaders in both nations have called upon scholars and educators to discuss the peace process with a new generation of students growing up during a period characterized by globalization and cooperation between the United States and Japan. As we revisit the San Francisco Peace Treaty, we commemorate the end of both the Pacific War and the Allied Occupation of Japan.

At the same time, it is valuable for students to recall the historical context of the peace treaty. Who agreed to sign it and why? How was the treaty drafted? What was controversial about the treaty? What issues remained unresolved? Was the treaty fair? International leaders at the San Francisco Peace Treaty Conference faced significant global issues that informed their opinions on the treaty. Events including the Korean War, Mao's rise to power in China, the Allied Occupation of Japan, and the Soviet development of nuclear weapons all played a role in determining the content of the treaty and the postwar world order.

This unit will provide students with historical knowledge of the San Francisco Peace Treaty and the global issues that influenced its signatories in 1951. Through role-play activities, analysis of primary sources, and writing assignments, students will develop a solid understanding of the early Cold War era. Students will also learn about the treaty's long-term implications through a discussion on contemporary war grievance-related issues and by reading speeches by American and Japanese government officials.

### Overview

The following is a brief summary of the organization of this unit.

**Lesson One** briefly introduces students to the San Francisco Peace Treaty by having them read an American perspective on the San Francisco Peace Treaty as presented in an encyclopedia entry.

Most of this lesson uses secondary historical sources to focus on the period between 1945–51. Students will gain a basic understanding of the chronology of this era and will discuss how early Cold War events might have influenced the San Francisco Peace Treaty Conference.

**Lesson Two** focuses on primary and secondary source documents and the construction of history. Students will enhance their analytical skills as they interpret sources related to the San Francisco Peace Treaty such as speeches, memos, diplomatic correspondence, and foreign textbooks.

**Lesson Three** presents the legacy of the San Francisco Peace Treaty in current events. In this lesson, students will discuss the reparations clause of the San Francisco Peace Treaty and the ways in which current war grievance issues might be resolved.

**Lesson Four** focuses on the official viewpoints of the Japanese and U.S. governments toward the San Francisco Peace Treaty. In Lesson Four, students will read the texts of speeches delivered by government officials at ceremonies commemorating the San Francisco Peace Treaty in September 2001. The lesson concludes with a "Trivial Matters" game designed to review aspects of the unit and to illustrate the significance of U.S.–Japan relations.

## Unit Goals

Each of the lessons in this curriculum unit has specific learning objectives listed. The following reflect larger goals for the unit as a whole.

In this curriculum unit, students will

- develop a basic understanding of the elements of a treaty and the role of treaties in international affairs
- become familiar with world affairs at the dawn of the Cold War and how these events affected the San Francisco Peace Treaty
- learn to analyze primary and secondary sources; understand how historians use these tools to create an argument
- examine the implications of the San Francisco Peace Treaty in contemporary international affairs
- improve their ability to synthesize information and think critically
- learn to work effectively in small-group settings
- develop oral presentation and written communication skills


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## Linkages to History–Social Science Content Standards for Public Schools

This curriculum unit incorporates themes that are relevant to both national and state-level curriculum content standards. The unit covers the following standards in Era 9: Postwar United States (1945 to early 1970s) from the *National Standards for History.*

- How the Cold War and conflicts in Korea and Vietnam influenced domestic and international politics
- Domestic politics after World War II

The unit also addresses the *History–Social Science Content Standards for California Public Schools* listed on the next page.

- Content Standard 11.9: Students analyze U.S. foreign policy since World War II

## The U.S.–Japan Security Treaty and Its Relationship to This Unit

On September 8, 1951, Japan signed both the San Francisco Peace Treaty and the U.S.–Japan Security Treaty. The former declared the end of the war, the end of the Allied Occupation of Japan, and the restoration of Japanese sovereignty, while the latter established the groundwork for U.S. military bases on Japanese soil. In 1960, the U.S.–Japan Security Treaty was modified, and the two countries signed a new treaty. Both the 1951 treaties and the 1960 treaty met great opposition among the Japanese public. Today, the U.S.–Japan Security Treaty continues to play a significant role in U.S.–East Asian relations.

The primary emphasis of this unit is the San Francisco Peace Treaty. However, teachers are encouraged to discuss the U.S.–Japan Security Treaty in lessons on the Cold War, modern East Asian/Japanese history, and/or international relations. SPICE offers curriculum on the U.S.–Japan Security Treaty in a case study/simulation unit entitled, *Choices in International Conflict: With a Focus on Security Issues in Asia.* It is available through the SPICE catalog.

## Materials

Handouts and primary source documents have been provided with each lesson. Permission is given to reproduce these handouts and documents for classroom use only.

Teachers may also find it useful to hang a large world map on the classroom wall for reference.

## Equipment

Overhead projector, large roll of paper, masking tape

## Grade Levels, Subjects

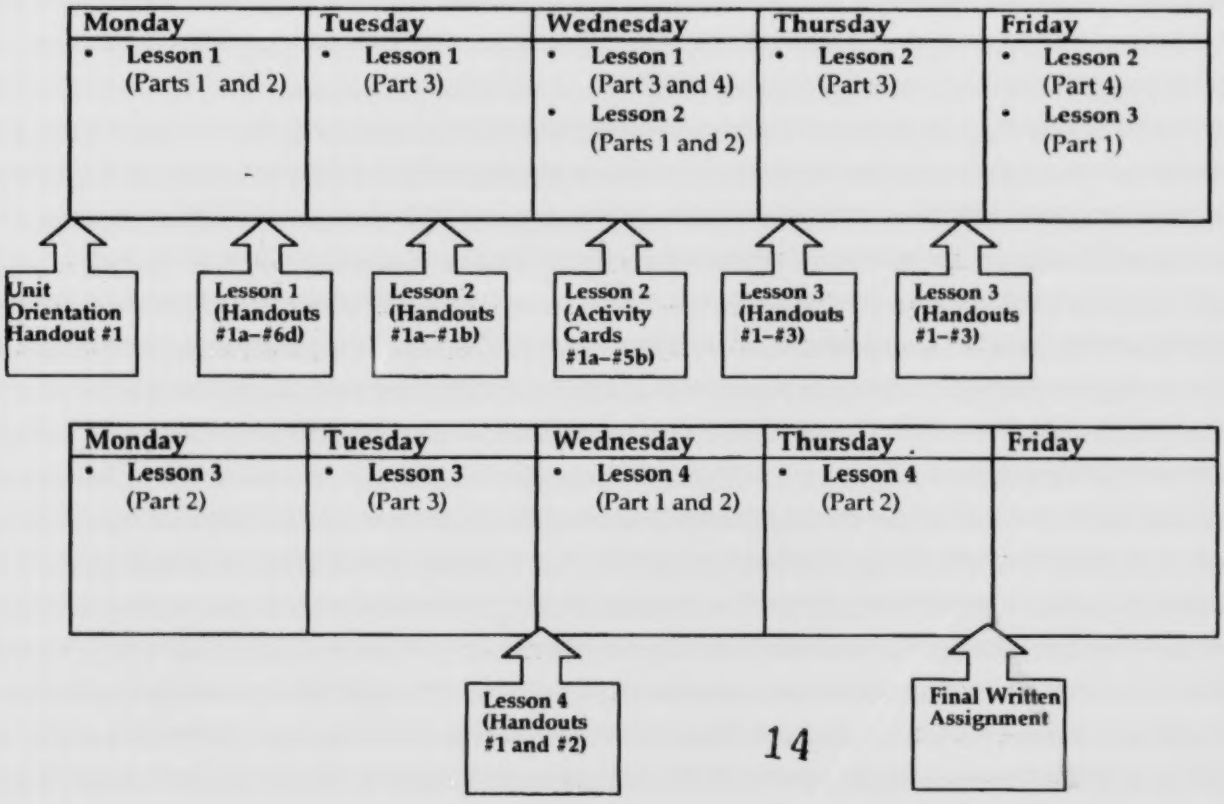
This curriculum unit is designed for secondary school students in grades 9–12 and for students in community colleges. It is recommended for use in global/international studies, world history, contemporary issues, and conflict resolution classes.

## Time, Suggested Sequence of Activities

*The San Francisco Peace Treaty* is divided into four lessons. While Lessons One and Two could be integrated into your curriculum on their own, it is recommended that you teach the unit as a whole. A suggested timeline for eight and 1/4 50-minute class periods is listed below. In some cases, optional activities are available to accommodate students of diverse ability levels. These will be discussed in more detail where applicable.

## Timeline

The following chart illustrates how this unit might be presented over a period of eight and 1/4 50-minute class sessions. Shaded arrows represent evening homework assignments while calendar boxes represent in-class activities.



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## Homework

To enable maximum productivity during in-class sessions, students will be asked to complete daily homework tasks. Most evenings, students will read handouts to prepare themselves for the following day's discussion. It is important for the teacher to prepare copies of handouts for distribution at the end of each class period. Most homework assignments will take no longer than 20 minutes.

## Small-Group Roles

*The San Francisco Peace Treaty* engages students in small-group activities. Some of the suggested roles and responsibilities for students working in small groups are

- **Facilitator**: responsible for reading instructions or designating someone in the group to read instructions, for assuring that the group is on task, and for communicating with the instructor
- **Recorder**: responsible for writing answers to questions, taking notes, etc.
- **Timekeeper**: responsible for keeping track of the time allocated for activities
- **Materials Manager**: responsible for obtaining and keeping track of materials used by the group
- **Harmonizer**: responsible for the group process, making sure, for example, that no one dominates the discussion and that everyone is participating
- **Reporter**: responsible for organizing group presentations and presenting results of activities to the class

*Lesson One*

# THE POSTWAR ERA AND THE ORIGINS OF THE COLD WAR

## Organizing Questions

- What was the general purpose of the San Francisco Peace Treaty?
- What was the Cold War and how did it begin?
- How did different world regions experience the immediate postwar era?
- How did the Cold War affect the San Francisco Peace Treaty negotiations?

## Introduction

Lesson One provides students with general knowledge about post-World War II events and issues that may have influenced the outcome of the San Francisco Peace Treaty Conference in 1951.

Through group discussions of secondary source materials, students will gain a basic understanding of the chronology of the immediate postwar era in specific countries and world regions. Students will read handouts on specific countries and world regions. Working in small groups, students will develop a presentation for the class on their assigned countries or regions. While listening to their classmates' presentations, students will fill in a chart that will help them to draw conclusions about the international relations of the early Cold War period and the relationships between these events and the San Francisco Peace Treaty.

## Objectives

*knowledge*

- to develop a basic understanding of the roles of treaties in international relations
- to develop an understanding of post-World War II international relations at a broad level
- to gain knowledge about a specific country's or region's post-World War II history

*attitude*

- to appreciate the complex issues that faced world leaders in the immediate postwar period

*skill*

- to develop the ability to summarize complex information
- to foster group communication, presentation, listening, and note-taking skills
- to nurture critical thinking skills by relating world events to one another

## Materials

Unit Orientation Handout #1: *What Is a Treaty?*

Unit Orientation Handout #2: *Encyclopedia Entry on the San Francisco Peace Treaty*

**Group 1 (Japan)**

Handout #1a: *Overview and Instructions* (Japan)

Handout #1b: *The Allied Occupation of Japan: The SCAP Reforms*

Handout #1c: *The New Constitution and the Movement Toward a Peace Agreement*

Handout #1d: *The Korean War*

**Group 2 (China)**

Handout #2a: *Overview and Instructions* (China)

Handout #2b: *World War II in China: "The War of Resistance Against Japan"*

Handout #2c: *The Chinese Civil War and Communist Victory*

Handout #2d: *The International Relations of China and Taiwan*

**Group 3 (South and Southeast Asia)**

Handout #3a: *Overview and Instructions* (South and Southeast Asia)

Handout #3b: *Southeast Asia Under the Japanese*

Handout #3c: *Southeast Asia After the War*

Handout #3d: *Postwar South Asia: India and Pakistan Gain Independence*

**Group 4 (Soviet Union)**

Handout #4a: *Overview and Instructions* (Soviet Union)

Handout #4b: *Soviet Union After World War II*


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Handout #4c: *Soviet Influence and Communism in Eastern Europe*

Handout #4d: *Soviet Union in Asia*

**Group 5 (United States and Europe)**

Handout #5a: *Overview and Instructions* (United States and Europe)

Handout #5b: *The Establishment of Postwar Europe: International Conferences and New Organizations (1944–45)*

Handout #5c: *U.S. Economic Aid to Europe: The Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan*

Handout #5d: *Postwar Eastern Europe and Germany: An Early Cold War Battleground*

**Regional Maps**

Handout #6a: *Europe in 1950*

Handout #6b: *Allied Zones of Occupation: Germany and Austria 1947*

Handout #6c: *Asia in 1950*

Handout #7: *Biographical Information*

**Activity Cards**

Activity Card #1a: *Group Instructions*

Activity Card #1b: *Issue/Event Card*

Activity Card #1c: *Postwar Relations Worksheet*

Large roll of butcher paper, tape

## Time

- At least 2 and 1/2 class periods
- Parts One and Two will each take approximately 1/2 of a class period followed by 1 evening of homework. Part Three will take at least 1 class period followed by homework to prepare the students for Lesson Two. Part Four is a short, 10-minute debriefing discussion.

## Teacher Preparation

These instructions are based on a class of 30 students. For this lesson, students will be divided into 5 groups of 6 students each. If you have more or fewer than 30 students in the class, adjust the preparation accordingly.

1. Make 30 copies of Unit Orientation Handout #1: *What Is a Treaty?* (OPTIONAL: SEE PROCEDURE PART ONE, Step #2)

2. Make 30 copies of Unit Orientation Handout #2: *Encyclopedia Entry on the San Francisco Peace Treaty.*

3. Make 6 complete sets of Handouts #1a–#1d (1 set for each member of Group 1).

4. Make 6 complete sets of Handouts #2a–#2d (1 set for each member of Group 2).

5. Make 6 complete sets of Handouts #3a–#3d (1 set for each member of Group 3).

6. Make 6 complete sets of Handouts #4a–#4d (1 set for each member of Group 4).

7. Make 6 complete sets of Handouts #5a–#5d (1 set for each member of Group 5).

8. Make 30 copies of Handouts #6a, #6b, and #6c (1 copy for each student in the class).

9. Make 30 copies of Handout #7: *Biographical Information* (1 copy for each student in the class).

10. Make 5 copies of Activity Card #1a.

11. Make 15 copies of Activity Card #1b.

12. Make 30 copies of Activity Card #1c (1 copy for each student in the class).

13. Make 30 copies each of Handout #1a and Handout #1b from Lesson Two (To be distributed as homework during Lesson One).

## Procedure Part One

1. Inform students that they are about to begin a nine-day unit on the San Francisco Peace Treaty and the early Cold War era. During this lesson, they will learn about global events during the immediate post-World War II period (1945–1951). Students will study some of the issues that faced world leaders at the time of the San Francisco Peace Treaty Conference in September 1951.

2. If students have not been previously exposed to treaties, or to deepen students' understanding of treaties, distribute Unit Orientation Handout #1: *What Is a Treaty?* **This reading assignment is optional.** It is suggested that students read the handout before the first day of the unit.

3. Provide each student with a copy of Unit Orientation Handout #2: *Encyclopedia Entry on the San Francisco Peace Treaty,* and ask a student to read it aloud.

4. Discuss the encyclopedia entry as a class. Address the guiding questions listed at the top of Unit Orientation Handout #2.

## Part Two

In Part Two, students will divide into five country/regional groups to learn how specific countries or regions experienced the early Cold War period. Each group will be assigned to read and answer questions about three handouts pertaining to their assigned country or region. Students will have some class time to work on these activities and will be expected to complete the reading and questions as homework.

NOTE: THE SUCCESS OF THIS LESSON IS LARGELY DEPENDENT ON THE HOMEWORK PREPARATION OF ALL STUDENTS IN THE CLASS.

1. Explain to the students that they will be learning about the context of the San Francisco Peace Treaty by first understanding the global origins of the Cold War. In the following activities, students will work in small groups to study one country or region in detail. They will then share their knowledge with their peers through a role-play activity.

2. Divide the students into five groups. Each group will read and prepare materials for one country or region.

3. Assign an area of the room to each group, and have the students move to the assigned areas.

4. Distribute Handouts #1a–#5d to the class. (e.g., each student in Group 1 (Japan) will receive his/her own copies of handouts #1a–1d; students in Group 2 (China) will each receive their own copies of Handouts #2a–2d)

5. Distribute copies of Handout #7: *Biographical Information* and Map Handouts (#6a, #6b, and #6c) to all students.

6. Ask students to read the instructions on the Overview and Instructions handouts (Handouts #1a, #2a, #3a, #4a, or #5a). Tell students to follow the homework instructions stated on this handout and prepare their responses for the next day of class. Students can spend the remainder of the period working on the homework assignment in their assigned groups. The remaining readings/questions should be completed at home in preparation for the next class session.

## Part Three

In this activity, students will complete a role-play exercise in which they act as scholarly experts on the country or region they have studied. Each group of students will prepare a "documentary television program" to present to their classmates. While listening to their classmates' presentations, students will learn about the early Cold War in other regions/countries and take notes on this information through Activity Card #1c: *Postwar Relations Worksheet*.

1. Ask students to gather in their groups in the areas of the room assigned the previous day.

2. After students have gathered in their groups, distribute one copy of Activity Card #1a: *Group Instructions*, and three copies of Activity Card #1b: *Issue/Event Card*, to each group. Read the Group Instructions aloud in class.

3. Allow students 30 minutes to prepare their role-play presentations in their assigned groups.

4. Hang a long piece of paper across one side of the classroom. Label from left to right: "Prewar Period," "1941–45," and "1945–51." Leave enough space between the labels to enable students to tape copies of Activity Card #1b: *Issue/Event Cards* onto the appropriate spaces on the timeline.

5. Distribute one copy of Activity Card #1c: *Postwar Relations Worksheet*, to each student. Ask students to fill in the chart as they listen to the presentations. Indicate that they will be assessed on their note taking, and that good notes will be necessary to complete the unit's final homework assignment.

6. Ask each group to present its selected events or themes to the class in the role-play format. In each group, one student should act as the "television announcer" and the remaining students should act as "scholar commentators." Provide access to a large world map for students to refer to during their presentations. Ask each group to tape the Issue/Event Card to the timeline as each event is presented. Allow five minutes for each group's presentation and one minute for questions at the end of each presentation. Leave five minutes at the end of class to distribute the homework assignment for the next class session. To allow each group sufficient time, you may wish to have one group give its presentation at the start of the following day of class.

7. During the last five minutes of class, distribute Handout #1a: *How Historians Use Documents* and Handout #1b: *Primary and Secondary Sources in Context* (from Lesson Two). Ask students to read Handout #1a and complete Handout #1b as homework for tomorrow's class.

## Part Four

1. Allow the group(s) remaining from the previous class session to deliver their presentation(s).

2. Conduct a brief discussion addressing the questions below.

- What was going on around the world at the end of World War II?
- How did events in Europe relate to events in Asia?
- How did the spread of communism in Asia and Europe affect U.S. relations with Japan?
- What countries might have opposed a peace treaty with Japan? Why?


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# WHAT IS A TREATY?

**Guiding Questions:**

- What are the purposes of a treaty?
- Who can draft and ratify a treaty?
- What might cause a state to break a treaty?
- How can treaties be categorized?

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**Introduction**
Our world consists of many different nations sharing the same limited resources. Often, when political, economic, or ideological interests differ between states (recognized governing bodies), conflict arises. The practice of drafting a treaty is considered one of the most universally accepted ways of dealing with such differences. If treaties are of such importance in resolving international conflicts, then we might consider understanding the nature of a treaty as an important window into international relations.

**Definition**
The Vienna Convention, an agreement by the United Nations on the fundamental role of treaties, presents one definition of treaties. "A treaty is an international agreement concluded between states in written form and governed by international law, whether embodied in a single instrument or in two or more related instruments and whatever its particular designation." In other words, treaties are written contracts or agreements drafted by two or more sovereign states or by organizations of states, to resolve a specific issue or set of issues. Most treaties relate to a particular question, such as rights to a certain piece of land, air space, or fishing waters. In theory, the objective of a treaty is not to give one state a relative advantage over another but to settle a dispute as fairly as possible. As such, treaties act as building blocks for harmonious relations between nations. By establishing treaties, nations can reduce levels of uncertainty and ensure the security of national interests.

**Categorizing Treaties**
Treaties can be called by a variety of descriptive titles, including "treaty," "convention," "pact," "protocol," and so on. Usually, a treaty's nomenclature is not important to diplomats, lawyers, and policymakers. Rather, readers should look at the body of the treaty to understand the document's purpose as well as the obligations and rights of its signatories.

There are two principle categories under which all treaties fall: bilateral and multilateral. A bilateral treaty is one that involves only two states. A multilateral treaty involves more than two states. Historically, multilateral treaties have been more complex than bilateral treaties because each party brings diverse interests to the treaty, rendering consensus difficult if not impossible. Most treaties can also be classified according to the following six sub-categories:

- **Political treaties** are commonly drafted to settle disputes between nations concerning international policy, boundary disputes, and disarmament. Most treaties fall into this sub-category. For example, the Treaty of Versailles formally ended the World War I between the Allied Powers and Germany. Under this treaty, Germany was forced to pay what was viewed as a large sum of war reparations as well as surrender many of its territories to the Allied nations. Many argue that the treaty's harshness toward Germany directly spurred the rise of Hitler and the Third Reich.

- **Commercial treaties** correct discrepancies concerning trade routes and licenses. Treaties that fall under this category end in trade agreements and licenses for certain countries or entities to conduct business in a defined area. The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

(GATT) is an example of a long-standing commercial treaty. The agreement, signed in 1947, was designed to provide an international forum that encouraged free trade between member states by regulating and reducing tariffs and by establishing a common authority for resolving trade disputes. Following the Uruguay Round negotiations, GATT was replaced by the World Trade Organization (WTO).

- **Constitutional treaties** redefine the formal recognition of certain entities. Poland, for example, regained its independence during the 20th century only after a constitutional treaty recognized Poland as a political entity.

- **Criminal treaties** define an action perpetrated by a country or countries as criminal and regulate the hearing of the criminal activity in a court of law. The Charter of the International Military Tribunal in Agreement for the Prosecution and Punishment of the Major War Criminals of the European Axis (London Agreement–1945), establishes the definitions of crimes against peace, crimes against humanity, and war crimes under the jurisdiction of the postwar Nuremberg trials.

- **Civil treaties** enact rights for certain people or entities that cross national boundaries (e.g., international human rights, copyright protection). For example, the European Convention for the Prevention of Torture and Inhumane or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (February 1, 1989) was enacted to protect individuals from inhumane punishments.

- **Conduct treaties** define codes of conduct such as rules of engagement in battle and extradition, and debts of honor in political alliances. The Geneva Convention, ratified in 1949, established international standards for the treatment of civilians, sick and wounded soldiers, shipwrecked sailors, and others during times of war.

It is important to note that some treaties fall into multiple categories, and other treaties cannot be categorized at all.

**Who Has the Authority to Draft Treaties?**
Treaties are legitimate only when a globally recognized entity has sanctioned the signatory action. Since the state cannot physically "sign" anything (because the state is not a person), it must bestow signatory powers on an individual who represents the state's interests during treaty negotiations and conferences. In many countries, important treaties are not considered binding until ratified by a congressional or parliamentary body. Occasionally, the ratification process results in significant changes to the content of a treaty.

**Legal Implications of Treaties**
Although most treaties appear to ensure peaceful relations between nations, they are only successful when all signatory parties abide by the agreed-upon terms over an ascribed period of time. In most cases, nations tend to avoid treaty violations to protect their credibility in the international community. However, treaties are sometimes violated with little or no warning.

A treaty can be broken:
- when its purpose is no longer relevant
- when the political party supporting the treaty ceases to exist
- when a government votes to override the treaty
- when war breaks out between one or more of the signatories, or
- when one party signs another treaty that supercedes the previous treaty.

A breach of a treaty can be used to justify military action, sanctions, or trials.


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# ENCYCLOPEDIA ENTRY ON THE SAN FRANCISCO PEACE TREATY

**Guiding Questions:**

- Who wrote this article? Who was the intended audience?
- According to the article, what kind of treaty is it? Multilateral? Bilateral? Economic? Political?
- What kinds of issues does the treaty address?
- Who signed the treaty? Who didn't? Why do you think this issue is important?
- Why do you think the San Francisco Peace Treaty is still important today?

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## Encyclopedia Entry:

Japan came under Allied occupation within two weeks after it surrendered. General MacArthur, as supreme commander for the Allied Powers, ruled Japan during the occupation. The Soviet Union and the United States set up occupation zones in Korea, and Soviet and Chinese troops rushed into Manchuria. Representatives of 52 countries met in San Francisco in September 1951, to draw up a peace treaty with Japan. On September 8, diplomats from 49 of these countries signed the treaty. Czechoslovakia, Poland, and the Soviet Union opposed the terms of the pact and refused to sign. The treaty required Japan to give up its former possessions outside its four home islands. The Allies claimed reparations of more than $100 million. The treaty gave Japan the right to rearm for self-defense, to develop industries, and to negotiate defense and trade agreements. The United States officially ended its war with Japan on April 28, 1952. With the end of the occupation, Japan signed treaties with the major Allies, allowing their troops to remain in Japan.

Source: *World Book Encyclopedia*, "World War II: The Aftermath of War," 1985.

# GROUP ONE
## OVERVIEW AND INSTRUCTIONS (JAPAN)

**Homework Assignment**

Read Handouts #1b, #1c, and #1d. On a separate piece of paper, answer the questions in the "Guiding Questions" section located at the top of each handout.

On the same piece of paper, make a list of three events or issues that you think are important to understand Japan's position in international politics in 1951. Briefly state why you have chosen these three events or issues. There are no right or wrong answers.

Be sure to make use of the maps and the biographical information handouts you have received. Vocabulary lists follow each handout.

**Contents**

- Handout #1b: *The Allied Occupation of Japan: The SCAP Reforms*
- Handout #1c: *The New Constitution and the Movement Toward a Peace Agreement*
- Handout #1d: *The Korean War*


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# The Allied Occupation of Japan : The SCAP Reforms

**Guiding Questions:**

- What were economic and social conditions like in Japan when the Allied Occupation began?
- Why did the United States decide not to put the Japanese Emperor on trial as a war criminal?
- What were some of the reforms executed by SCAP? Why do you think the United States chose these reform policies?

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## The Immediate Aftermath of the War in Japan

In the wake of the Soviet entry into the war against Japan and the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan surrendered to the Allied Powers on board the USS Missouri in Tokyo Bay on September 2, 1945. This event marked the beginning of the Allied Occupation of Japan that continued until 1952, bringing about unprecedented changes to the Japanese government, economy, and society. The Allied forces were led by the United States under the leadership of General Douglas MacArthur as the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (SCAP). During the early years of the Allied Occupation, several hundred thousand U.S. soldiers were stationed in Japan.

The Occupation forces faced a nation that had been devastated by the effects of the war. Major cities such as Tokyo and Osaka were left in ruins by the U.S. strategic bombing, and nearly one third of the entire population had been left homeless. Food shortages plagued the entire nation, and many people died of starvation or suffered severe malnutrition. Business was at a standstill, and most Japanese turned to the black market to purchase needed food and household goods. Psychological devastation also affected the lives of average citizens, many of whom felt they had been deceived by their own government during the long war in Asia and the Pacific.

## The War Crimes Trials and Demilitarization of Japan

One of SCAP's first objectives was to bring a quick end to Japan's military rule. To ensure the destruction of this system, SCAP dismantled the imperial army and navy as well as the Ministry of War. SCAP also released war prisoners and brought an end to laws that prohibited free speech. Occupation authorities also ended Japanese censorship, replacing it with their own form of censoring textbooks and other publications.

SCAP also sought to demilitarize Japan by purging the nation of individuals whom the United States regarded as militaristic, through a plan entitled the "Removal and Exclusion of Undesirable Personnel from Public Office." In 1946, approximately 210,000 people lost their positions in government, publishing, education, and business because of their alleged involvement in the nation's wartime violence. In addition to forcing many people into retirement, SCAP organized war crimes trials in which Class-A War Criminals faced an international tribunal in Tokyo while 6,000 other war criminals underwent trials in Yokohama. Of the 28 Class-A War Criminals, 7 were executed for the violent acts committed by Japanese forces in China, Korea, Southeast Asia, and the Pacific Islands.

## The Status of the Emperor

Among the Allied Powers, debate arose over the fate of the most controversial figure of postwar Japan, Emperor Hirohito. During the war, the emperor had been worshipped in Japan as a living deity. Thus, many authorities assigned responsibility for wartime aggression to the emperor, while others argued that maintaining the emperor would garner cooperation from the Japanese public. The latter argument eventually won. Nonetheless, the emperor was forced to renounce all claims to divinity and encourage the Japanese people to embrace democracy.

### Social and Economic Changes

SCAP's main objective in Japan was to democratize Japanese society and make it into a "peace-loving nation." To accomplish this, SCAP executed widespread reforms that affected all aspects of society. At the family level, SCAP revoked a code that had encouraged a patriarchal family life. This change provided women with equal rights to divorce and gave rights to individual members of families. SCAP also reshaped rural life by encouraging the National Diet (the national legislative body) to pass a law that redistributed land in the countryside. This law almost completely eliminated tenancy and enhanced the living standards of Japan's impoverished rural population. In the industrial arena, SCAP dissolved the *zaibatsu* (large cross-shareholding business enterprises) such as Mitsubishi and Mitsui, that had benefited from the wartime production of military goods. Education also changed as a result of SCAP reforms. School textbooks on Japanese history and social sciences were eliminated until new books could be published and approved by Occupation officials. Reform also emphasized opening the education system to individuals who had been neglected in the prewar years. Education through middle school became compulsory and students began to attend secondary schools and universities in growing numbers.

### Vocabulary

1) **unprecedented** — having no earlier example

2) **black market** — a system in which goods are traded illegally

3) **censorship** — the act of examining, removing, or suppressing certain books, films, and other materials that are considered controversial

4) **purging** — to remove as if by cleansing, to eliminate

5) **alleged** — stated positively to be, but without proof

6) **Class-A War Criminals** — those charged with "the planning, preparation, initiation, or waging" of a war of aggression

7) **tribunal** — a committee appointed to act as judges in a particular matter

8) **deity** — a god

9) **patriarchal** — a society in which the father is the head of the household, and descent is determined through the paternal line

10) **tenancy** — ownership or occupancy of land by the evidence of a right of possession, lease, or rent

11) **compulsory** — required


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# The New Constitution and the Movement Toward a Peace Agreement

**Guiding Questions:**

- Who wrote Japan's constitution and what kinds of changes did it bring about?
- What is the status of the Japanese military under Article Nine? How might this be important to security in the United States and Asia?
- What controversy surrounded the development of the San Francisco Peace Treaty? What role did the Cold War play in setting the stage for the Peace Treaty?

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## A New Constitution

The new Japanese constitution, promulgated on May 3, 1947, remains one of the most important influences of the Allied Occupation of Japan. Initially, MacArthur intended for the Japanese government to write its own constitution. The constitution proposed by Japan, however, did not call for the abolition of the emperor's authority and allowed for the maintenance of the Japanese military. Thus, SCAP authorities rejected Japan's draft because they felt it did not support the Allied Occupation's plan to democratize Japan. As a result, MacArthur assigned SCAP officials to the task of writing a new constitution for Japan. After working on the constitution for six consecutive days, SCAP officials generated a draft that was presented to the Japanese government in February, 1946. After four months of debate in the National Diet, Japan approved the new constitution with only a few changes to the SCAP draft.

One of the major changes to the constitution was the relegation of the emperor to status as a national symbol. The constitution also included a list of rights similar to the Bill of Rights in the U.S. Constitution. This list called for the rights to free speech, freedom of assembly, freedom of the press, the right to an education, and laborers' rights to collective bargaining. The constitution also proclaimed the equality of the sexes and women's suffrage. Perhaps the most radical change, however, was the abolition of the Japanese military. Under Article Nine, Japan renounced its right to engage in offensive warfare and promised that it would no longer maintain armed, naval, or air forces. Although Japan currently possesses defensive military capabilities through its Self-Defense Forces (JASDF), Article Nine remains in place. This has become an international issue in recent years due to Japan's expanding role in United Nations peacekeeping operations as well as conflicts surrounding U.S. bases in the Japanese archipelago.

## Moving Toward a Peace Treaty

In 1947, General MacArthur announced that the time had come for the Allied Occupation to end. MacArthur argued that Japan should become a neutral nation under the protection of the United Nations, and that prolonging the Allied Occupation would only result in Japanese resentment toward the United States. The U.S. military, however, disagreed with MacArthur's proposal, arguing that it was necessary for the United States to maintain its bases in Japan to ensure the security of the region. The Joint Chiefs of Staff even suggested that Japan rebuild its military so as not to depend on the United States for its security in the event of a third world war.

Prime Minister Yoshida Shigeru, understanding the conflict between MacArthur and the U.S. military in Washington, decided to reestablish Japan's sovereignty by aligning Japan with the United States during the early years of the Cold War. Through peaceful relations with the United States, Yoshida thought that Japan could restore its economy, improving the lives of Japanese citizens. In 1950, Yoshida sent Finance Minister Ikeda Hayato to Washington, D.C to relay an official message that Japan would agree to permit U.S. bases in Japan after the Allied Occupation. Thus, a year before the signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty, it seemed clear that Japan would form a "separate peace" with the United States and the other "free world"

powers. In Japan, Yoshida's proposal met diverse public responses. On the one hand, a strategic alliance with the United States would ensure Japanese security while allowing the economy to develop. On the other, however, a separate peace with the United States and its allies was not comprehensive. Many intellectuals argued that the nation should aim for a comprehensive peace treaty that included not only the United States, Great Britain, and the "free world" but also the Soviet Union and China. By signing a separate agreement with the United States, Japan would be sacrificing its diplomatic autonomy as well as threatening potential trade relations with China.

Ultimately, the Cold War played a large role in setting the stage for the 1951 San Francisco Peace Treaty. Beginning in 1947 and 1948, the United States decided to abandon its earlier SCAP reform goals of economic reforms and pure democratization of Japan due to the beginnings of the Cold War in Europe and the rise of the Communist Party in China. Between 1945 and 1947, the Japanese economy showed few signs of recovery. Policy experts argued that unless the Occupation gave up its original plans to dissolve the pre-war *zaibatsu* (large, cross-shareholding business enterprises), Japan's economy would weaken to a point that would become both an enormous burden to American taxpayers and an easy target for a communist takeover in the Far East. In 1948, thus, the United States-led Occupation embarked on a "reverse course" policy in which the prewar *zaibatsu* corporations began to operate once again in an only slightly modified form. Through the "reverse course," the Japanese economy began to recover. More importantly, a foreign policy precedent had been established — the United States now placed its Cold War objectives ahead of its ideals of pure democratization of Japan.

### Vocabulary

1) **relegation** — the act of assigning to a lower or insignificant position

2) **collective bargaining** — negotiation of terms of employment between the representative of organized workers and the employer

3) **suffrage** — the right to vote

4) **archipelago** — a large cluster of islands

5) **sovereignty** — self-government; freedom from external control

6) **Cold War** — the contest for power between the communist nations headed by the Soviet Union and the nations of the West headed by the United States that began after World War II


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# THE KOREAN WAR

**Guiding Questions:**

- How did the Korean War set the stage for the Cold War?
- How did the Korean War affect U.S.–Japan relations? Why?
- What were the economic consequences of the Korean War for Japan?

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### Japan's Occupation of Korea

In 1905, Japan ended the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905) by defeating the Russian navy in the Battle of Tsushima. Following its victory, Japan signed a treaty with Russia in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in 1905. Through this treaty, Russia gave Japan its holdings on the Liaodong Peninsula (China), the southern half of Sakhalin, and the South Manchurian Railway Line between Mukden and Port Arthur. This set the stage for Japanese imperialist expansion in East Asia.

Later the same year, Japan and Korea negotiated a treaty that recognized Korea as a protectorate. Through this relationship, Japan took control of Korea's diplomacy, political institutions, and financial affairs. It also provided for Japanese settlement in Korea. Before long, Japanese citizens began to migrate to Korea seeking economic opportunities. By 1910, Japan seized control of Korea and declared it part of the Empire of Japan. For more than three decades, Japan occupied the Korean Peninsula. During this period, Korean children attended schools run by the Japanese. Korean men were often forced to fight or endure hard labor for the Japanese military during World War II, while many Korean women were forced to work as "comfort women" for the Japanese Imperial Army. The World War II era was among the most tragic times in recent Korean history.

After Japan's surrender in 1945, Korea was left under the control of the recently formed United Nations. The United Nations divided Korea "temporarily" into two occupation zones at the 38th parallel—the Soviet Union administering control over the north, while the United States controlled the south. Each zone established its own independent government. Both the northern and southern Korean zones as well as the United States and The Soviet Union expressed a strong commitment to the peaceful reunification of the separated country. However, neither side was willing to relinquish its influence over the peninsula.

### The Postwar Division of Korea

War eventually broke out between North and South Korea when North Korean troops crossed the 38th parallel on June 25, 1950. Most historians agree that the United States interpreted North Korea's attack as a threat to U.S. interests in East Asia, including the security of Japan. The United States believed that the attack had been encouraged and led by the Soviet Union. Many policy makers also argued that the attack on South Korea might be foretelling of Chinese-Soviet intentions to bring all of Asia under communist control. Immediately, the United States reacted by sending the Seventh Fleet to the Formosa (Taiwan) Strait to protect Taiwan from a possible Chinese invasion. It also provided military assistance to the Philippines and Indonesia to combat communism in Southeast Asia. Shortly, the United States sent troops to the Korean Peninsula to fight alongside U.N. forces against North Korea. Meanwhile, China sent troops to assist the North Korean war effort.

### The Effects of the Korean War on Japan

The Korean War had a dramatic impact on the Japanese economy. As the war persisted, the U.S. military harnessed the talents of Japan's skilled workforce, and almost immediately, Japan became a major supplier of material to the U.S. military in Korea. This rapid increase in demand enabled the Japanese economy to recover to its prewar level. By 1952, goods

purchased by the United States for the Korean War effort constituted approximately 63 percent of Japan's total exports.

In addition to jumpstarting the Japanese economy, the communist threat to the Korean Peninsula spurred the U.S. decision to hasten its efforts to pursue a peace treaty with Japan. Without the guaranteed support of Japan, the United States feared that all of Asia might be lost to the communist bloc. Thus, with tensions mounting in Korea, in April, 1950, U.S. President Harry Truman announced that John Foster Dulles would lead a team that would forge a treaty with Japan. The treaty would guarantee Japanese independence while a separate agreement between the United States and Japan would allow for U.S. bases on Japanese soil. Clearly, Japan grew in strategic importance to the United States during the Korean War. The San Francisco Peace Treaty and the U.S.–Japan Security Treaty, both signed on September 8, 1951, provide testimony of this strategic Cold War alliance.

## Vocabulary

1) **protectorate** — the relationship of superior authority assumed by one power or state over a dependent one; the dependent political unit in such a relationship

2) **"comfort women"** — women who were restrained for a certain period with no rights, under the control of the Japanese military, and forced to engage in sexual activity with Japanese military personnel

3) **relinquish** — to surrender

4) **bloc** — a group of nations united with a common interest or political ideology


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# GROUP TWO
## OVERVIEW AND INSTRUCTIONS (CHINA)

**Homework Assignment**

Read Handouts #2b, #2c, and #2d. On a separate piece of paper, answer the questions in the "Guiding Questions" section located at the top of each handout.

On the same piece of paper, make a list of three events or issues that you think are important to understand China's position in international politics in 1951. Briefly state why you have chosen these three events or issues. There are no right or wrong answers.

Be sure to make use of the maps and the biographical information handouts you have received. Vocabulary lists follow each handout.

**Contents**


- Handout #2b: *World War II in China: "The War of Resistance Against Japan"*
- Handout #2c: *The Chinese Civil War and Communist Victory*
- Handout #2d: *The International Relations of China and Taiwan*

# World War II in China: "The War of Resistance Against Japan"

**Guiding Questions:**

- Why did Japan attempt to conquer China?
- If China had participated in the 1951 San Francisco Peace Treaty Conference, what position might it have taken? Why?
- How did Japan's actions during World War II affect its relations with China?

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**The Japanese Empire Expands to China**

The events of World War II in China remain a major factor in relations between China and Japan into the 21st century. The war in China was also a prominent point of contention during the San Francisco Peace Treaty Conference. The effects of the war in China influenced the participants in the 1951 peace treaty negotiations. Thus, it is important to understand the chronology and rationale of the war.

Late in the 19th century, Japan undertook a fervent modernization effort while China weakened in the face of Western colonialism in Asia. The two countries warred from 1892 to 1895. Japan won a surprising victory and was awarded the island of Taiwan, which it made into a Japanese colony. In the early 20th century, Japan colonized Korea and also became interested in using China as a base for industrial production. By the 1920s, Japanese industry dominated Manchuria, the resource-rich northeast region of China. Japan's military forces in Manchuria conquered the region in 1931, and it became part of Japan's empire.

**The War of Resistance Against Japan**

In 1937, a small argument between Chinese and Japanese forces near Beijing sparked a full-blown war. The Chinese called the war, "The War of Resistance Against Japan." Japan's forces were stronger and more modern than China's, and Japan expected a quick victory. The Japanese Imperial Army easily captured most of the large coastal cities, but Shanghai held out for three months. China's Nationalist leader, Chiang Kai-shek, moved the government from Nanjing westward into the high mountains of central China. In December, 1937, the Japanese captured Nanjing and engaged in a month of atrocities, commonly referred to as the "Rape of Nanking" or the "Nanking Massacre." Japanese soldiers murdered civilians, including children, and raped women. There were many other notable cases of Japanese brutality during the war: a Japanese airplane dropped plague-infected materials on three cities, and civilian Chinese in some areas were subjected to torturous medical experiments. Many Chinese still express hatred toward Japan and Japanese people due to the cruel behavior of Japanese troops in China in the 1930s and 1940s. China periodically demands that the Japanese government apologize for the atrocities of World War II. Even today, Sino-Japanese relations are strained by the legacies of the war.

Despite conquering the coastline and the major cities in eastern China, the Japanese were unable to force China to surrender. China's sheer size prevented the Japanese from controlling the countryside, and their forces were not large enough to attack the nationalist government in western China. Much like Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union, complete victory was impossible, yet the humiliation of retreat was equally unacceptable for Japan.

After the United States entered the war in 1941, Japan had to divert its troops to the Pacific. The United States began to aid the Nationalists, while the Communists successfully carried out small-scale guerrilla warfare against the Japanese in northern China. Japan made a final advance in July, 1944, but the intensified Pacific War against the United States had made it impossible to mount further offensives in China.


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Though Chinese forces won no major victories over Japan, one can argue that China made the greatest contribution to Japan's defeat. China tied up a huge proportion of the Japanese army, allowing the Allies to win battles in the Pacific and Southeast Asia. However, the cost for China was great: only the Soviet Union suffered more casualties in World War II.

### Vocabulary

1) **prominent** — well-known, important

2) **contention** — argument, dispute, or quarrel

3) **rationale** — a fundamental reason

4) **fervent** — very earnest, ardent

5) **atrocities** — very cruel or brutal acts

6) **Sino-Japanese** — of matters between China and Japan

7) **guerrilla warfare** — the use of deceptive fighting tactics and ambush by mobile groups of irregular forces to harass and undermine the enemy in an occupied territory

# THE CHINESE CIVIL WAR AND COMMUNIST VICTORY

**Guiding Questions:**

- Why did the Communists and the Nationalists resort to civil war?
- What factors contributed to the communist victory?
- What effect did the nationalist defeat and communist victory have worldwide?
- How did the communist victory complicate peace treaty arrangements?

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## Prewar Fighting in China

When Japan surrendered to the Allied Powers in August, 1945, much of China was still under Japanese control. However, the Allies' victory over Japan marked only a brief respite in the fighting in China. Less than a year after Japanese troops left the country, war resumed between the Communists and the Nationalists.

The Communists were allies with the Nationalists until 1927. Both groups shared the goal of modernizing and strengthening China, which had been forced to grant concessions to foreign countries since the mid-1800s. In 1927, however, intense fighting broke out between the two groups, and they engaged in civil war for most of the 1930s. Even when Japan took control of Manchuria in 1931, the two groups ignored the outside threat and concentrated on fighting each other. The two parties did not unite against Japan until 1937 when they formed a second alliance.

## The World War II Foundations of the Chinese Civil War

After an initial flurry of fighting, the war in China became a stalemate. Military positions changed little between 1939 and 1943. The Nationalists avoided engaging the Japanese, choosing instead to wait for help from the United States. This strategy decreased morale among nationalist troops and angered U.S. officers, who complained of the Nationalists' unwillingness to commit troops against the Japanese. The communist forces were concentrated in northern China, and they engaged in guerrilla tactics to harass the Japanese. Their continued defiance of the Japanese, strict discipline, and positive treatment of rural villagers won them many new supporters during the war. However, each group used the stalemate to strengthen its position in anticipation of defeating the other once the Japanese were driven out. In particular, Chiang Kai-shek, the nationalist leader, was attempting to save his forces for an eventual war against the Communists, and wanted the United States to bear the burden of fighting the Japanese.

## The Chinese Civil War and the Rise of Mao

Once Japan surrendered, the United States offered much of its military equipment to the Nationalists, whom the United States regarded as the rightful government of China. Against the Nationalists' orders, Communist units began to move into Japanese-held territory and took arms from the defeated Japanese army. It was clear that both sides were gearing up for another war against each other, so the United States attempted to negotiate a peace agreement between the two parties. For over a year, U.S. General George Marshall attempted to get the Nationalists and the Communists to compromise. However, limited fighting waged even during diplomatic talks. Marshall gave up in disgust in early 1947, claiming that neither side was willing to compromise. Mediation proved fruitless because both sides were deeply distrustful of each other, and each side was convinced that it would triumph in a civil war.

Fighting resumed in early 1947, soon after the last negotiations ended. The Nationalists appeared the favorite on paper: they had twice as many troops, superior weaponry, and the support of the United States and most other world powers. The Nationalists won most of the early victories in 1947 and early 1948. However, their weaknesses began to undermine their effectiveness. Though they held vastly more territory than the Communists, they were often confined to cities because the Communists dominated the countryside. Nationalist troops were


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corrupt, murdering those who tried to establish rival political parties, hoarding money, and robbing the common people. The nationalist government also mismanaged the economy, printing money to make up for the government deficit, thereby creating incredible levels of inflation. People starved to death in the streets, and riots broke out in Nationalist-held areas. On the other hand, the Communists maintained discipline. They also carried out land reform wherever they went, often killing landlords and redistributing land to the peasants.

In January, 1949, the Communists captured Beijing without a fight. In desperation, Chiang Kai-shek offered to negotiate for peace, but communist leader Mao Zedong would accept only a complete surrender. The Communists marched down the coast, forcing Chiang Kai-shek to abandon the nationalist capital of Nanking (Nanjing). Mao proclaimed the establishment of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949. In December, Chiang Kai-shek's government and army, and an estimated two million refugees fled to the island of Taiwan, vowing to regroup and invade the mainland again. Within months the Communists gained control over all of modern-day mainland China, but they lacked the equipment to launch an offensive against the Nationalists in Taiwan.

The overwhelming Communist victory had great repercussions worldwide. The emergence of two large, populous countries—China and the Soviet Union—fueled U.S. fears of communist domination, which figured heavily in Cold War politics.

**Vocabulary**

1) **respite** — a break

2) **concessions** — lands granted by a government for certain purposes

3) **stalemate** — a situation in which further action is blocked

4) **defiance** — the act of standing up against authority and refusing to recognize or obey it

5) **mediation** — the act of negotiating a peace or resolution between conflicting parties

6) **fruitless** — futile or in vain

7) **undermine** — to weaken gradually by wearing away

8) **land reform** — the redistribution of land that is taken away from wealthy landowners

9) **mainland** — China proper

10) **Cold War** — the contest for power between the communist nations headed by the Soviet Union and the nations of the West headed by the United States that began after World War II

# THE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF CHINA AND TAIWAN

**Guiding Questions:**

- Who were Taiwan's allies and who supported China?
- Why did Taiwan and China align themselves as they did?
- How did the continued conflict between the Chinese Communists on the mainland and the Nationalists on the island of Taiwan influence global events?

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## China and the Soviet Union: A New Alliance?

In 1949, the Chinese Communists gained control of China and forced their enemy, the Nationalists, to flee to the island of Taiwan. With the outbreak of the Korean War, the United States feared a Chinese invasion of Taiwan. President Truman ordered the U.S. Seventh Fleet into the Taiwan Strait—which separates China from Taiwan—to prevent communist aggression against the nationalist regime. Thus, the Taiwan Strait became another stage in the Cold War struggle. Meanwhile, Chinese leader Chairman Mao Zedong, declared that the Chinese would "lean to one side" in international relations, meaning that China would ally with the Soviet Union and other communist nations against what Mao saw as the imperialist powers of the West.

Following the civil war, there was some hope for agreement between the United States and China. After fervently supporting the Nationalists for most of the Chinese civil war, the United States had gradually withdrawn its support, and President Truman declared that the United States would stay out of China's domestic conflict. However, the announcement of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Pact heightened U.S. fears of a unified communist bloc bent on world domination. Soviet advisors and technicians came to China, and the Soviet Union agreed to assist the Chinese with economic development along the Soviet model. The Soviet Union supported China's demand that the communist government should receive the China seat in the United Nations, rather than the Nationalists. To the outside world, it seemed to be a tight united front: two of the world's largest and most populous nations working together to promote worldwide communist revolution.

## What Is the "Official" China?

Against this tense background, the issue of China's representation in the United Nations assumed great importance. Along with the Soviet Union, Great Britain, the United States, and France, China was one of the big five Allied powers in World War II, and had thus been awarded permanent membership in the UN Security Council. The nationalist government had assumed the seat, but communist victory over mainland China complicated matters. Should the Communists, who wielded power over the vast majority of Chinese territory, be given the seat?

After Mao proclaimed the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, several governments quickly recognized the new government, including Great Britain. This recognition implied that the Communists were the rightful rulers of China and should be given the UN seat. However, many Western nations hesitated to recognize China, waiting for the United States to extend recognition.

The Soviet Union insisted that the Communists be given the China seat in the United Nations—an act that would allow another communist country in the powerful UN Security Council. The Soviet delegation began to boycott Security Council meetings in protest of exclusion of the Chinese Communists. Once the Korean War broke out, all hope of the Chinese Communists winning the UN seat was lost. The attack by North Korean Communists on South Korea cemented the United States' fear of worldwide communist aggression. China entered the Korean War in October, 1950, to fight against UN troops. China's involvement in the war led to


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two decades of international isolation. Few countries wished to express support for a country that had fought the UN, and the United States pressured its allies against recognizing China. The Soviet Union was China's sole ally.

Meanwhile, Taiwan chose to ally itself with the West. Chiang Kai-shek, the nationalist leader, offered to contribute troops to the UN contingent fighting in the Korean War. The offer was refused, but military contacts between the United States and the Nationalists in Taiwan grew. The two governments signed a mutual defense treaty in 1952, committing the United States to defend Taiwan against communist attack. Taiwan was dependent on the United States militarily, and China was dependent on the Soviet Union diplomatically.

### Vocabulary

1) **bloc** — a group of nations united with a common interest or political ideology

2) **UN Security Council** — the permanent committee of the United Nations that oversees its peacekeeping missions and security issues throughout the world

3) **boycott** — to refuse to participate for political or ideological reasons as a means of protest

# GROUP THREE
## OVERVIEW AND INSTRUCTIONS
## (SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIA)

**Homework Assignment**

Read Handouts #3b, #3c, and #3d. On a separate piece of paper, answer the questions in the "Guiding Questions" section located at the top of each handout.

On the same piece of paper, make a list of three events or issues that you think are important to understand South and Southeast Asia's position in international politics in 1951. Briefly state why you have chosen these three events or issues. There are no right or wrong answers.

Be sure to make use of the maps and the biographical information handouts you have received. Vocabulary lists follow each handout.

**Contents**

- Handout #3b: *Southeast Asia Under the Japanese*
- Handout #3c: *Southeast Asia After the War*
- Handout #3d: *Postwar South Asia: India and Pakistan Gain Independence*


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# SOUTHEAST ASIA UNDER THE JAPANESE

**Guiding Questions:**

- Compare the status of Southeast Asian nations before and after World War II. What changes took place and why?
- What were Japan's original intentions in Southeast Asia?

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**Overview**

Southeast Asia before World War II consisted of one independent kingdom and nine colonies as follows:

- Independent kingdom: Thailand
- Dutch colony: Indonesia (ruled as the "Dutch East Indies")
- French colonies: Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam (ruled jointly as "French Indochina")
- British colonies: Burma, Malaya (modern-day Malaysia and Brunei), Singapore
- U.S. colony: The Philippines

**Colonialism in Southeast Asia**

The history and destiny of Southeast Asia had long been controlled by outside forces such as Muslim and Buddhist religious movements and the dominating cultural and political influences of China and India. In the late 19th century, Europe and the United States became the dominant powers in the region. With the exception of Thailand, the countries considered to be part of Southeast Asia were all colonies of Western powers before World War II. The harshness of colonial rule varied, but nationalist movements sprang up in all colonies after World War I. Still, independence appeared a distant dream for the peoples of Southeast Asia. After World War II, most Western powers focused their attention on the sudden threat of communism in Europe. It was in this context of international distraction that most Southeast Asian nations achieved their freedom.

**World War II: Japan's Occupation of Southeast Asia**

The Japanese occupation of Southeast Asia devastated the region. The economies had been disrupted, and Japanese troops had taken "comfort women" from the local population, forced death marches, and committed other atrocities in many of the occupied areas. Japan's occupation also changed the timeline for independence. In 1941, Japan became the first and only power to rule all of Southeast Asia. Victory in the region came surprisingly easy for the Japanese. With France and the Netherlands occupied by Nazi Germany, the British fighting to keep their own land from falling to Germany, and the United States unprepared for war in the Pacific, Japan overran all of Southeast Asia by May, 1942.

While the Japanese portrayed themselves as liberators from U.S. and European colonial rule, they continued most of the same policies used by the former colonizers. Southeast Asians soon realized that the Japanese were just a new set of rulers, not liberators. Resistance movements sprang up in most countries, and communist insurgencies proved the most successful. These local resistance movements provided the basis for many later independence movements and also evolved into important communist parties in the region.

Japan attempted to invade India from Burma in early 1944, but turned back in defeat in July. By August, the Allies had recaptured part of Burma. The Allied invasion of the Philippines began in September, and local opinion throughout Southeast Asia turned against the Japanese. In an attempt to rally native support, Japan placed the monarchs of Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam in power in French Indochina and promised independence to the Indonesians. Burma and the Philippines fell in the spring of 1945. However, when Japan surrendered on August 14, 1945,

over 70 percent of Southeast Asia was still under Japanese occupation. The time between Japan's surrender and the return of colonial administrations allowed Southeast Asians a small taste of independence.

**Vocabulary**

1) **Muslim** — believer in the Islam religion

2) **Western powers** — United States, Great Britain, France, and their allies

3) **nationalist movements** — organized efforts by groups of people seeking independence for a country under foreign control

4) **"comfort women"** — women who were restrained for a certain period with no rights, under the control of the Japanese military, and forced to engage in sexual activity with Japanese military personnel

5) **insurgencies** — rebellions

6) **French Indochina** — Southeast Asian peninsula formally under French colonial rule that comprises present-day Laos, Cambodia, and Vietnam


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# SOUTHEAST ASIA AFTER THE WAR

**Guiding Questions:**

- How did the newly-independent countries of Southeast Asia align themselves in the early Cold War environment? From what countries did they receive support?
- How did the colonial past of each country in Southeast Asia influence its loyalties during the early 1950s?
- How did Cold War politics influence the war in Vietnam and other Southeast Asian nations? What was the role of communist China?

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## The Postwar Period in Southeast Asia

The main forces acting upon Southeast Asia during the 1945–1951 period were the following:

- the collapse of European empires
- the decline of British power and the corresponding rise of U.S. influence
- the beginnings of the Cold War
- the triumph of the Communists in China
- India's independence

## Thailand

Thailand had cooperated with Japan during the war, so the Allied powers of Europe demanded heavy reparations from Thailand. However, the United States, a longtime Thai ally—accepted the argument that Thailand had to cooperate with Japan to prevent invasion. Further, a "Free Thai" anti-Japanese movement controlled large parts of the country during the war. Thus, Thailand was given a minimal punishment. Frequent coup attempts rocked Thailand after the war, and Vietnamese and Chinese Communists encouraged minorities in Thailand to revolt. As a result, the Thai government turned to the United States for security. Thailand granted military privileges to the United States, and Thai troops were sent to fight with U.S. during the Korean War.

## The Philippines

The United States promptly fulfilled its prewar promise to leave the Philippines. The war had left much of the country, particularly Manila, devastated, so the new government turned to the United States for badly-needed economic aid. In exchange for a generous aid package, the Philippines agreed to house large U.S. naval and air force bases and granted favorable treatment to U.S. businesspeople. Thus, although colonialism had formally ended, the United States maintained a colonial-like influence in the country. Further, the favorable opinion most Filipinos had toward the United States ensured that the Philippines remained an obedient follower of U.S. foreign policy. Due to the fighting in the Philippines and atrocities caused by the Japanese during World War II, Filipinos harbored particularly ill sentiment towards the Japanese.

## Burma

After World War II, Britain reasserted control over its colonies. However, Burma (present-day Myanmar) caused particular trouble for the British. The Burmese detested British colonialism, and local governor Aung San demanded independence. Fearing local rebellion, Britain agreed to give up the colony. Burma became an independent nation on January 4, 1948, and was the only former British colony to decide against joining the Commonwealth of Nations. Immediately, trouble brewed in Burma, as ethnic minorities who were worried about ethnic Burmese rule took up arms against the new government. Two communist factions also revolted, and Burma plunged into war for two years. The government eventually fought off

every insurrection. It also stuck to a strict, neutral foreign policy, accepting aid from no one. Convinced that this was the key to avoid being dominated by larger countries, Burma remained neutral in foreign affairs.

### Singapore and Malaya

The people of Malaya (modern-day Malaysia and Brunei) and Singapore—Britain's other Southeast Asian colonies—were not so restless for independence. The British attempted a reform of the colonial government, creating a "Malayan Union" in which local Malaysian sultanates were stripped of their power. After Malaysians responded by forming their own political party and starting a nationalist movement, Britain backed down, restored power to the sultans, and created the Federation of Malaya. This compromise won the British 10 more years of colonial rule. However, Chinese Communists in Malaya who had fought against the Japanese, turned on the Malay government in 1948. They copied the tactics of the Chinese Communist Party, waging guerrilla warfare and hoping to drive out the British and establish a communist Malaya. The British defeated them by driving them into resource-poor areas and offering poor Malaysians refuge in exchange for moving into new settlements away from the villages where the Communists were concentrated. By 1951, the communist movement was crushed, and Malaya and Singapore were stable.

### The Dutch and French Attempt to Retain Colonies in Southeast Asia

The Netherlands and France were even more intent than the British on reclaiming their colonies. Both European countries had been under Nazi control, so they lacked the respect and appearance of strength possessed by the victorious United States and Britain. The Netherlands' attempt to rebuild its Dutch East Indies colony (Indonesia) and France's return to Indochina both devolved into wars of liberation.

### Indonesia

Sukarno, founder of the Indonesian National Party, proclaimed an independent Indonesia on August 17, 1945, two days after the Japanese surrender. However, Sukarno's nationalist forces were only strong on the urbanized islands of Java and Sumatra. Chaos ensued on the other islands, as there was a long lapse between the Japanese surrender and the return of the Dutch colonists. At first, the Japanese troops were in charge of keeping order in Indonesia. They passed off power to the British, who found themselves fighting Sukarno's nationalists. The British were relieved when Dutch forces finally arrived in 1946 to reassert control.

Returning Indonesia to colonial rule proved much more difficult than the Dutch had hoped. The Netherlands was in economic ruin after having been occupied by Nazi Germany for five years. However, the East Indies (Indonesia) was the largest Dutch colony and was considered crucial to the pride and the economy of the Netherlands. Thus, while the Netherlands was willing to grant some small measure of independence to Indonesia, it was also willing to pay high costs to regain the Dutch Empire's prized colony. After a long, four-year struggle against the Dutch, Indonesia again declared its independence on December 27, 1949. By August of 1950, the various Indonesian states had agreed to dissolve themselves into one political unit, the Republic of Indonesia, and all links to the Netherlands were severed.

### Indochina (Cambodia, Laos, Vietnam)

France conquered modern-day Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam in the 19th century. It ruled this region as one colony named the Indo-Chinese Union. Resistance to French rule was present from the outset, but grew more forceful after the turn of the century. An especially strong nationalist movement emerged in Vietnam. After 1930, the nationalist movement was dominated by the Vietnamese Communist Party under the leadership of Ho Chi Minh.

France's loss to Germany made it easy for Japan to occupy Indochina from 1940. In the absence of French colonial rule, all of Vietnam's nationalist groups united to form the League for the

Independence of Vietnam, also known as the Vietminh. After Japan's defeat in 1945, the Vietminh captured Hanoi, Vietnam's capital, and Ho Chi Minh proclaimed an independent Vietnam. However, France did not want to relinquish Indochina. France was prepared to allow Vietnam more freedom, but complete independence was out of the question. It also wanted to keep Vietnam divided into three regions, while Ho Chi Minh demanded a unified country. In 1946, French troops returned to reassert control. Ho Chi Minh hoped that the United States and other nations that had opposed colonialism would side with him against the French. The United States was most concerned about communist encroachment in Europe, and felt that they needed the support of the British and French to keep Europe from falling to Soviet pressure. Thus, the United States refrained from taking sides in the conflict between the French and the Vietnamese. In March, 1946, negotiations between the Vietnamese and the French gave Vietnam a measure of independence, provided French troops were allowed to stay in Vietnam and that Vietnam remained a part of the French Union. Neither side was satisfied with the compromise, and a skirmish later that year led to full-blown fighting. The First Indochina War had begun.

From 1946 to 1949, there was no outside intervention in the war. This changed with the victory of Mao Zedong and the Chinese Communist Party in China in 1949. Mao's victory brought great encouragement to Ho Chi Minh and the Vietminh. Communist China provided weapons, military training, and diplomatic support to the Vietminh. The communist victory in China and communist North Korea's invasion of South Korea led U.S. foreign policy experts to believe in an international plot to install communist governments throughout Asia. This made the Indochina War important to the United States. U.S. officials began to argue that losing Vietnam might lead to a "domino effect" in which other Southeast Asian countries would fall to communism in sequence. The United States abandoned neutrality in 1950 by extending considerable economic and military aid to France in support of the war in Indochina. As it became evident that the war would be a long one, French citizens began to press for a negotiated settlement. By autumn of 1951, a protracted battle in Indochina seemed inevitable.

## Vocabulary

1) **Cold War** — the contest for power between the communist nations headed by the Soviet Union and the nations of the West headed by the United States that began after World War II

2) **reparations** — compensation required from a defeated nation for damage or injury during a war

3) **coup** — a sudden overthrow of a government by a small group of individuals formerly in positions of authority

4) **Commonwealth of Nations** — a political, educational and development association consisting of Britain and sovereign states (many of which were formerly British colonies)

5) **insurrection** — open revolt against the constituted government

6) **Sultanates** — the offices or reign of a sultan; countries ruled by a sultan

7) **guerrilla warfare** — use of deceptive fighting tactics and ambush by mobile groups of irregular forces to harass and undermine the enemy in an occupied territory

8) **East Indies** — Indonesia; islands of Southeast Asia

9) **Vietminh** — a member of the Vietnamese army that defeated the Japanese and French between 1941 and 1954; Vietnamese abbreviation for Viet Nam Doc Lap Dong Minh Hoi, Vietnam Federation of Independence

10) **relinquish** — surrender, give up

11) **encroachment** — advancement beyond legal limits

12) **skirmish** — a minor conflict or dispute

13) **domino effect** — a cumulative effect that results when one event sets off a sequence of similar events

14) **protracted** — lengthened in time


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# POSTWAR SOUTH ASIA: INDIA AND PAKISTAN GAIN INDEPENDENCE

**Guiding Questions:**

- Why was the British Indian Empire divided into two countries upon its independence?
- What was Nehru's general approach to global politics?

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## India: A British Colony

Great Britain first gained territory in South Asia in 1765. By 1857, most of modern India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Burma, and Sri Lanka belonged to the British Indian Empire. Calls for Indian independence emerged in the 20th century. Mohandas "Mahatma" Gandhi led a series of protests and petitions for Indian independence from Britain in the 1920s and 1930s. By the 1940s, independence appeared inevitable. Japan conquered areas bordering British territory in World War II and attempted an attack on the British Empire in India but was quickly defeated. As soon as the war ended, negotiations for the transfer of power began.

## Partitioning India

The biggest problem in the negotiations was how to deal with India's large Muslim population. Many Muslims feared that the great majority of Hindus in a one-state, independent India would oppress the Muslim minority. The Muslim League, which represented India's Muslims in negotiations with the British, demanded a separate Muslim state. As negotiations continued, violence and riots broke out across the land between Hindus and Muslims. The British decided to hand over power quickly among the spreading chaos. Gandhi still pressed for reconciliation, but the advent of religious violence convinced both the British and the Indian National Congress (the largest political party composed of Indians) that India would have to be partitioned. The British Indian Empire was divided into two countries based upon the religious majority of each local district. The predominantly Muslim area became Pakistan, and the areas where Hindus composed the majority joined to form India. Pakistan consisted of two separated territories: one in the northwest, the other in the northeast.

## A New Role for India in Global Politics

On August 12, 1947, India and Pakistan simultaneously became independent. India was one of the charter members of the United Nations, and Pakistan promptly joined in 1947. India's first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, emphasized active participation in global affairs and non-military international organizations as well as a neutral stance in Cold War politics. India sought to become a leader of the "non-aligned" countries, those that were not members of the Western or Soviet blocs. For example, it organized the Arab-Asian Group in 1950 to lobby for a cease-fire in Korea. India also sympathized with the victory of the communists in China. It supported the recognition of the People's Republic of China as the representative of China in the United Nations and refused to recognize the Nationalist government in Taiwan. In fact, India was China's biggest supporter outside of the communist bloc, a stance that angered some U.S. leaders. India relayed China's message that China would retaliate if UN forces went north of the 38th parallel in Korea. The subsequent U.S. advance created anti-U.S. sentiment in India.

India also clashed with the United States over the proposed peace treaty with Japan. India's leaders claimed that the Americans were dominating the discussion and were ignoring Indian and Asian views. Also, India was angry that China had not been invited to the treaty conference. In protest, India rejected the proposed treaty and boycotted the San Francisco Peace Treaty Conference.

# handout #3d

**Vocabulary**

1) **Hindus** — believers in Hinduism, a diverse body of religion, philosophy, and culture native to India

2) **reconciliation** — the act of resolving conflict

3) **partitioned** — divided into separate nations

4) **non-aligned** — not a member of Western nations or the group of socialist countries under Soviet control

5) **blocs** — groups of nations united with a common interest or political ideology

6) **People's Republic of China** — Communist government in mainland China established by Mao Zedong in 1949, after defeating Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist army

7) **Nationalist government in Taiwan** — the Nationalist government reestablished in Taiwan by Chiang Kai-shek and his army, after escaping to Taiwan in 1949 upon the Communist takeover of Beijing


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# GROUP FOUR
## OVERVIEW AND INSTRUCTIONS (SOVIET UNION)

**Homework Assignment**

Read Handouts #4b, #4c, and #4d. On a separate piece of paper, answer the questions in the "Guiding Questions" section located at the top of each handout.

On the same piece of paper, make a list of three events or issues that you think are important to understand the Soviet position in international politics in 1951. Briefly state why you have chosen these three events or issues. There are no right or wrong answers.

Be sure to make use of the maps and the biographical information handouts you have received. Vocabulary lists follow each handout.

**Contents**


- Handout #4b: *Soviet Union After World War II*
- Handout #4c: *Soviet Influence and Communism in Eastern Europe*
- Handout #4d: *Soviet Union in Asia*

# Soviet Union After World War II

**Guiding Questions:**

- How did the government of the Soviet Union differ from that of the United States?
- What were the effects of the war on the Soviet Union?
- How did the war affect the Soviet Union's approach toward foreign policy?

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## Soviet Union Before World War II

The government of the Soviet Union was characterized, in theory, by its adherence to communist ideology. Communism is a political and economic system in which all property is owned by the state rather than by individuals. In the Soviet Union, the government was controlled by one party, the Communist Party, and this party also controlled the economy. Joseph Stalin was the leader of the Soviet Union from the late 1920s until his death in 1953.

As a communist country, the Soviet Union operated a planned economy rather than a market economy. In a planned economy, the government, rather than supply and demand, determines prices and output. Through the Five Year Plans, the government of the Soviet Union attempted to plan every aspect of the economy by translating the general economic goals into quantitative targets for agricultural and industrial production. The First Five Year Plan started in 1928 and focused on industrial development and the collectivization of agriculture. The Second and Third Five Year Plans continued these goals. However, the Third Five Year Plan was interrupted in 1941 by the German invasion and the Soviet Union's entrance into World War II.

## The Effects of the War on the Soviet Union

The Soviet Union lost more people in World War II than any nation has ever lost in any war. It has been estimated that as many as 27 million Soviet citizens died during the war. Only about half of those deaths were soldiers. Six hundred thousand civilians died of starvation during the two and a half year siege of Leningrad alone. In addition to the deaths, another 20–25 million people were left homeless by the war. The war had destroyed 1,700 towns and 70,000 villages.

The economy of the Soviet Union was also devastated by the war. Huge areas of the country had been destroyed. In many instances, the retreating Soviet Army tried to destroy everything that might be of military value to the invading Germans. Then, when the Nazis were forced to retreat from Soviet territory, they attempted to destroy everything again. Mines were wrecked and flooded, railroad tracks were blown up, and livestock were killed. After the war, agricultural and industrial production was half of what it had been before the war.

## Soviet Union After World War II

To survive the war, the government had permitted activities that it would not have allowed before the war. For example, private ownership and farming of land were not allowed in the Soviet Union before World War II. All of the agricultural land belonged to either state farms or collective farms. During the war, however, the government turned a blind eye to people who were farming private plots of land taken from the state and collective farms. It was necessary for the government to allow this private farming to have enough food to survive the war. In addition, informal markets developed through which consumer goods were bought and sold during the war. However, after the war, the government once again attempted to control these practices.

The Fourth Five Year Plan began in 1946 and was to be completed by 1951. The primary goal of the plan was to recover the economic ground that had been destroyed by the war. The Fourth Five Year Plan aimed at rapid growth in all sectors, including a new priority sector: atomic weapons, missiles, and space exploration. The Soviet Union tested its first atomic bomb in 1949.


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As with the previous Five Year Plans, targets in priority sectors were reached at the expense of the production of light industry and consumer goods.

During the war, the government had also relaxed controls on the arts and religion. However, immediately after the war, the government once again began to crack down on artists and writers whose work did not support the regime. As before the war, people who did not support the regime were sent to labor camps.

### Long Term Effects of the War

World War II is known in the Soviet Union as the Great Patriotic War. Although it brought immense suffering and destruction to the nation and its people, there were also some positive effects for the Soviet regime. Through its role in the war, the Soviet Union vastly improved its international status.

Before the war, the Soviet Union was just one of several European powers. After the victory, the Soviet Union emerged as one of two superpowers in the world. Victory had proven that the government that had taken power in the 1917 Revolution could compete with the capitalist governments of Western Europe.

However, World War II left a long-term effect on the Soviet Union's foreign policy. Stalin and the Soviet Union sought to prevent a recurrence of Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union by expanding its influence abroad and creating a "buffer zone" of states between itself and Western Europe. In addition, the government felt that the Soviet Union deserved reparations for all that it had suffered during the war.

### Vocabulary

1) **adherence** — attachment or devotion to a person, group, or belief

2) **ideology** — an individual's set of ideas or beliefs reflecting societal values, culture, etc.

3) **planned economy** — a system in which government determines prices of goods and quantity of output

4) **market economy** — a system in which natural forces of supply and demand determine prices of goods and quantity of output

5) **collectivization** — an economic system in which the means of production and distribution is controlled by the people collectively

6) **private ownership** — system in which property or business is owned by individuals

7) **informal markets** — situations in which exchange of goods, services, or resources occurs between sellers and buyers in a specific geographical area

8) **consumer goods**— manufactured products made for personal use by individuals or families

9) **light industry** — commercial production and sale of raw materials used to produce consumer goods

10) **1917 Revolution** — the events leading up to the communist overthrow of the Russian imperial monarchy and establishment of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

11) **reparations** — compensation demanded of a defeated country for damage or injury in a war

# Soviet Influence and Communism in Eastern Europe

**Guiding Questions:**

- How did countries under the influence of the Soviet Union develop differently from capitalist countries?
- What kind of relationship did the Soviet Union have with other communist countries in Eastern Europe? How did its relationship with Yugoslavia differ?
- What is the significance of the Berlin blockade to relations between communist and capitalist countries?

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## Territorial Expansion of the Soviet Union

In 1939, at the beginning of World War II, the Red Army of the Soviet Union had occupied eastern Poland and the Baltic states of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. Although all of these territories had at one time or another belonged to the Russian Empire, they were independent countries during the interval between the two world wars. In 1940, Stalin formally incorporated the Baltic states into the Soviet Union, so that they became the Soviet Socialist Republics of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania. Stalin also annexed Bessarabia from Romania in 1940 and created the new Moldavian Soviet Socialist Republic.

## Communist Expansion into Eastern Europe

In 1944–45, during its advance against Nazi Germany, the Soviet Red Army occupied Poland, eastern and central Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria. At the same time, communist-led partisans seized power in Albania and Yugoslavia. It soon became clear that these countries would fall under the Soviet sphere of influence. This meant that the Soviet Union would be the predominant influence in these countries after the war.

Directly after the war, communists in Eastern and Central Europe shared power with other non-communist political parties. However, with the continued presence of the Red Army and "advisors" from the Soviet Union, the communist parties gradually took control and drove the non-communist parties out of the government. By 1948, all of the Eastern and Central European countries that were in the Soviet Union's sphere of influence had come under the control of communist governments. For the most part, these communist governments were under the direct control of the Soviet Union.

Once the communist governments were in control in Eastern and Central Europe, the countries adopted the economic policies of the Soviet Union. Industry was nationalized and in many cases machinery and equipment were transported to the Soviet Union as "war reparations." The economies were subjected to state planning along the model of the Soviet Union's Five Year Plans and were closely integrated with each other. The "Soviet bloc," as the Soviet Union and communist Eastern Europe were called, refused to take part in the U.S. Marshall Plan for reconstruction because it could lead to capitalist subversion of communism. In 1949, the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON) was created as the communist response to the Marshall Plan in order to more closely integrate the economies of the Soviet bloc.

## Berlin Blockade

The tension between communist and capitalist regimes in Eastern Europe was most apparent in Germany. At the end of World War II, Germany had been divided into four zones under British, U.S., French, and Soviet control. The city of Berlin, located in the Soviet zone of the country, was likewise divided into four zones. Arguably, the Soviet Union wanted a permanently weakened and neutralized Germany while the Western powers were convinced that prosperity in Western Europe depended on German economic recovery.


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In 1948, the Western powers agreed to join their zones and start rebuilding West Germany's economy. Threatened by the prospect of a strong West Germany and a capitalist West Berlin within the Soviet zone, the Soviet Union blockaded all ground traffic between West Berlin and the Western zones. Four days later, on June 28, 1948, the United States and Great Britain began a massive airlift of supplies to West Berlin. The airlift continued for 324 days, until an agreement was negotiated with the Soviet Union to lift the blockade in May, 1949.

The blockade had failed to drive the Western powers out of Berlin. On May 23, 1949, the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) was established out of the Western zones of Germany. In October, 1949, the Soviet Union responded by establishing the German Democratic Republic (GDR) in its zone in October, 1949.

### Division Within the Soviet Bloc: Yugoslavia

In September, 1947, the Communist Information Bureau (Cominform) was established to replace the earlier international communist organization, the Comintern, which had been disbanded during the war. Through the Cominform, the Soviet Union consolidated its influence over communist parties in Europe. However, this centralized control over the direction of communism was not complete.

The communist regime in Yugoslavia was largely independent of the Soviet Union, partly because Yugoslavia had liberated itself from Nazi Germany with little help from the Soviet Union. The Communist Party enjoyed popular support in Yugoslavia because it had led the fight against the Nazis. Although the leader of the Communist Party, Josip Tito, was a faithful follower of Stalinist principles, he refused to allow Yugoslavia to be turned into a satellite of the Soviet Union. Unwilling to accept Tito and the Yugoslav Communist Party as equals to the Soviet Union, Stalin expelled Yugoslavia from the Cominform in June, 1948. Yugoslavia went on to develop its own doctrine of national communism.

### Vocabulary

1) **sphere of influence** — a geographical region in which a particular state or organization is dominant

2) **nationalized** — having transferred ownership or control of a business, industry or property from an individual to the government

3) **Marshall Plan** — (1947–52) a postwar aid program of loans and economic assistance provided by the United States government to help Western European countries rebuild after World War II

4) **subversion** — the undermining or overthrow of a government or institution

5) **Western powers** — United States, Great Britain, France, and their allies

6) **blockaded** — organized prevention of the entrance and exit of goods

7) **airlift** — transportation of people and objects by air when no other means is available

8) **Stalinist principles** — the economic principles and political policies implemented by Stalin which include centralized autocratic rule and suppression of dissent

9) **satellite** — a nation that is politically and economically dependent on a more powerful country

# SOVIET UNION IN ASIA

**Guiding Questions:**

- What was the relationship between the Soviet Union and China after the communist victory in China?
- Why did the Soviet Union see Japan as a threat?
- Why would the Soviet Union's agreements with China and its assistance during the Korean War cause concern in the West?

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## Soviet Union and China

The Chinese Communist Party came to power in China in October, 1949, largely without the support of the Soviet Union. In fact, in August, 1945, the Soviet Union had signed a Treaty of Friendship and Alliance with Chiang Kai-shek, leader of nationalist China, who was then fighting the Communists in China. This treaty recognized the Soviet Union's gains in Asia while the Soviet Union promised not to interfere in China's civil war. The Soviet Union did provide some support to the Communists, but at that time, it clearly did not expect them to come to power in China so soon.

In 1949, the Chinese Communist Revolution, led by Mao Zedong, was successful in establishing the People's Republic of China in mainland China, while the Nationalists fled to the island of Taiwan. Like Tito in Yugoslavia, Mao Zedong did not owe his position to the Soviet Union and was somewhat resentful that the Soviet Union had not supported him more fully during the Chinese civil war. At the same time, Stalin was both satisfied that the victory in China strengthened communism worldwide and wary about the rise of a rival center of communist authority. Stalin recognized that China was too large and important of a country for the Soviet Union to treat like a colony.

Despite these tensions, in early 1950, China and the Soviet Union signed agreements through which Stalin gave up his gains in Manchuria, and provided economic and military assistance to China. This assistance would assure that China would follow the Soviet model of development. The two countries also signed a 30 year treaty of alliance formally directed at Japan and any state that should unite with Japan, meaning the United States. In addition, the Soviet Union boycotted the United Nations from January to August of 1950 to protest the UN's refusal to acknowledge the People's Republic of China as the legitimate government of China.

## Soviet Union and Japan

In the 1904–05 Russo-Japanese War, the Japanese had destroyed the Russian navy in the Far East and humiliated Russia. Russia lost all claims to Korea, half of Sakhalin Island, its lease to the warm water ports on the Liaodong (Liaotung) Peninsula, and the southern part of the Trans-Siberian Railroad that ran through Manchuria.

The Soviet Union entered the war against Japan on August 8, 1945, just days before the Japanese surrender. The Soviet Union invaded Manchuria, the Japanese part of Sakhalin Island, and the Kurile Islands. The United States wanted to prevent the Soviet Union from gaining more territory and influence in Asia. Therefore, the United States used the atomic bomb in Japan partly to end the war quickly and also to prevent further Soviet influence in the region. The Soviet Union was not given any influence in Japan after the war. Japan came almost completely under U.S. control, with some influence from Great Britain and China.

As the Asian outpost for the United States and capitalism in Asia, Japan posed a threat to the Soviet Union. At the San Francisco Peace Treaty Conference, the Soviet Union moved to reduce


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this threat by proposing that Japan be demilitarized and remain neutral. In addition, the Soviet Union wanted recognition of Soviet claims to all of the northern islands that were currently under Soviet control. These proposals were rejected.

### Soviet Union and the Korean War

Formerly a part of the Empire of Japan, Korea was divided between the Soviet-occupied North and the U.S.-occupied South at the end of World War II. Although the division was meant to be temporary, neither side was prepared to give up influence in its region. The Soviet Union helped North Korea build itself up militarily and industrially, and blocked attempts by the United Nations to reunify the country peacefully. Eventually, U.S. and Soviet troops withdrew from Korea, leaving it divided along the 38th parallel.

On June 25, 1950, North Korea invaded South Korea. Although the Soviet Union was not militarily involved in the invasion, it gave tacit approval when Kim Il-sung, leader of the North Korean Communist Party, visited the Soviet Union in early 1950. Furthermore, when China joined the Korean War on the side of North Korea, the Soviet Union provided weapons and technical assistance to China.

### Vocabulary

1) **mainland** — China proper

2) **Manchuria** — a section of northern China that was occupied by Japan during World War II

3) **boycott** — a refusal to participate for political or ideological reasons as a means of protest

4) **demilitarize** — to reduce and/or eliminate a nation's military power

5) **parallel** — imaginary line parallel to Earth's equator that represents a particular degree of latitude from the equator

6) **tacit** — implicit understanding

# GROUP FIVE
## OVERVIEW AND INSTRUCTIONS
## (UNITED STATES AND EUROPE)

**Homework Assignment**

Read Handouts #5b, #5c, and #5d. On a separate piece of paper, answer the questions in the "Guiding Questions" section located at the top of each handout.

On the same piece of paper, make a list of three events or issues that you think are important to understand the United States' and Europe's position in international politics in 1951. Briefly state why you have chosen these three events or issues. There are no right or wrong answers.

Be sure to make use of the maps and the biographical information handouts you have received. Vocabulary lists follow each handout.

**Contents**


- Handout #5b: *The Establishment of Postwar Europe: International Conferences and New Organizations (1944–45)*
- Handout #5c: *U.S. Economic Aid to Europe: The Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan*
- Handout #5d: *Postwar Eastern Europe and Germany: An Early Cold War Battleground*



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# THE ESTABLISHMENT OF POSTWAR EUROPE: INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES AND NEW ORGANIZATIONS (1944–45)

**Guiding Questions:**

- What issues did the Allied Powers face as they approached the end of the war?
- How did the Allied Powers plan to occupy postwar Germany?
- What issues remained unresolved? How do you think this period planted the seeds for the Cold War?

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**International Conferences: Planning for Cooperation in the Postwar Era**

As World War II drew to a close and the Allied victory became apparent, the major powers of the Allied forces—United States, Soviet Union, and Great Britain—met on several occasions to discuss their roles in the future world order. Despite the political and ideological differences among these nations, the exigencies of the war forced the leaders to cooperate and compromise with one another during the early phases of postwar planning.

The Bretton Woods Conference, held in 1944 in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, was one of the first major international meetings to confront the issue of developing the postwar world economy. Spearheaded by the United States, the Bretton Woods Conference united leaders from a large number of the Allied countries to determine ways to promote international trade and stabilize the devastated world economy after the war. Several plans emerged from the conference, including the establishment of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the formation of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which later became the World Bank. The delegates also chose to fix exchange rates to foster economic growth, particularly in economically-ravaged Europe.

Also held in 1944, the Dumbarton Oaks Conference brought the United States, Great Britain, China, and the Soviet Union together to conceptualize a new international organization that would replace the League of Nations as an international body. The United Nations, chartered in San Francisco on April 25th, 1945, stemmed directly from these discussions.

**Yalta and Potsdam: The Allied Powers Prepare to Occupy Germany**

The Yalta and the Potsdam Conferences are often considered two of the most important wartime meetings of the Allied Powers. Prior to Germany's surrender, U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill, and Soviet Marshal Joseph Stalin met in Yalta in February, 1945 to discuss the Allied partitioning of postwar Germany and Korea, the status of the Polish government, and the Soviet entrance into the war against Japan. Under the Yalta Agreement, the Allies decided to partition Germany into four occupation zones to be controlled by the United States, Britain, France, and the Soviet Union. The leaders also agreed to reestablish Polish borders according to the post-World War I status quo and to allow a Soviet puppet regime to rule over Poland until democratic elections could be held. Finally, the Allies decided that the Soviet Union would join the war against Japan within the three months following the German surrender.

After Germany surrendered on May 8th, the Allied leaders met again on July 17th, 1945, in Potsdam, Germany. The Potsdam Conference resulted in the decision to govern Germany under the Allied Control Council consisting of military leaders from the four occupation zones. Other issues such as the disputed western border of Poland remained unresolved as relations between Britain, the Soviet Union, and the United States grew increasingly strained.

# handout #5b

It is important to note that during the Potsdam Conference, U.S. president Harry S. Truman received notification of the successful testing of the atomic bomb, which would be used just three weeks later against Japan. Today, it remains controversial whether Stalin understood that the United States possessed such a weapon at the time of the Potsdam Conference. Regardless, the successful detonation of the atomic bomb and its implications for the war against Japan are immeasurable. As a result of the atomic bomb, the United States attained a one-sided victory over Japan, thus eliminating potential Soviet claims to occupy Japan in the postwar period. It also contributed to a breakdown in relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. Immediately following the war, the United States sided with Great Britain and France, forming a "Western Alliance" against the Soviet Union and its satellite states.

## Vocabulary

1) **ideological** — of or relating to an individual's set of ideas or beliefs reflecting societal values, culture, etc.

2) **exigencies** — something that a situation urgently demands or requiring immediate action

3) **spearheaded** — acted as the leading force of an event or action

4) **fixed exchange rates** — the prices of one country's currency are fixed to a unit(s) of the currency of another, usually more dominant country

5) **occupation zones** — areas in which a foreign country stations its military forces

6) **status quo** — the state of affairs that currently exists

7) **puppet regime** — a government whose actions and policies are dictated by another more dominant country

8) **detonation** — the setting off of an explosive

9) **satellite states** — states that are politically and economically dependent on a more powerful country


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# U.S. Economic Aid to Europe: The Truman Doctrine and The Marshall Plan

**Guiding Questions:**

- What were the U.S. foreign policy objectives during the early postwar years?
- What threats did the United States perceive in Europe, and how did U.S. foreign policy respond to such threats?

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## U.S. Foreign Policy: Establishing Democracy and Capitalism in Europe

World War II brought about unprecedented economic and political hardships in Europe. Millions of lives had been lost, cities had been destroyed, and valuable resources had been spent on war efforts. In the United States, however, the war had spurred industrial production, bringing the country out of the Great Depression. As the new, undisputed global superpower, the United States sought to influence the future of Europe by fostering democratic and capitalist societies. In the wake of the war, U.S. foreign policy experts believed that democracy and free-market economics would bring about peace, security, and stability.

U.S. leaders argued that the rise of communism in countries such as Greece, Italy, and France, as well as the emergence of nationalism in Southeast Asia, the Middle East, and Africa, threatened the U.S. vision of global peace. Fearing that instability in economically-ravaged countries would result in the establishment of Soviet-style command economies, the United States sought ways to secure the future of capitalism in Europe. The United States initially chose to focus on redeveloping the "core economies" of Europe: Germany, France, and Britain. By importing inexpensive raw materials and agricultural products from developing countries, the United States sought to encourage the growth of industry and trade in Western Europe. Through the success of capitalism and democracy in these countries, the United States aimed to draw Europe away from the Soviet sphere of influence.

## The Truman Doctrine

The emerging Cold War became increasingly apparent as events unfolded during the early postwar years. In a speech delivered in March, 1946, British Prime Minister Winston Churchill stated that "an iron curtain has descended across the continent." The same year, civil war broke out between monarchists and communists in Greece after the public voted to return the monarch King George II to power. As the civil war continued, Greek communist guerrillas received aid from the communist government of Yugoslavia while the monarchists secured assistance from the British. Eventually, Britain notified the United States that it could no longer provide financial support to Greece. As a result, President Truman asked Congress to support the Greek monarchists through a $400 million aid package. Congress approved Truman's proposal, known as the Truman Doctrine, on March 12th, 1947.

It is important to note that the Truman Doctrine was significant to U.S. policy in Europe not so much for the quantity of aid involved, but because it established a precedent for U.S. action in preventing the spread of communism in areas considered peripheral to Western Europe. Through the Truman Doctrine, it became clear that the United States viewed the future global political and economic structure as dependent on U.S. intervention.

## The Marshall Plan

Shortly after the Truman Doctrine had been approved, the U.S. government unveiled a new plan designed to further support the economic development of Western Europe. Fearing that the growing number of bilateral agreements between Eastern European nations and the Soviet Union would encourage France and other countries to drift toward the Soviet sphere of

influence, the United States took the offensive and declared the Marshall Plan in April, 1947. This aid program focused on promoting European economic growth and integration under U.S. guidance.

The United States was aware that there were many risks associated with the Truman Doctrine and the Marshall Plan. U.S. leaders understood that U.S. economic aid to Europe would antagonize the Soviet Union and could provoke the division of Germany between Soviet and U.S. spheres of influence. Almost immediately, the Soviet Union boycotted the Marshall Plan. To stymie the effects of the plan, the Soviet Union encouraged labor strikes, nationalism, and anti-Americanism in the countries receiving U.S. aid. Bipolar confrontation began to appear inevitable as the United States and the Soviet Union stepped up efforts to influence Europe's political and economic structures.

**Vocabulary**

1) **unprecedented** — having no earlier example

2) **free-market economy** — a system in which businesses run independently without government control over prices and wages

3) **command economics** — an economic system in which the government controls businesses and distribution of resources

4) **sphere of influence** — a geographical region in which a particular state or organization is dominant

5) **iron curtain** — an impenetrable barrier to understanding or agreement

6) **monarchists** — individuals in favor of a government ruled by a monarch (king, queen, or emperor)

7) **guerrillas** — mobile groups of irregular forces who use deceptive fighting tactics to harass and undermine the enemy in an occupied territory

8) **peripheral** — on the boundary

9) **stymie** — block, hinder, thwart

10) **nationalism** — the desire to achieve political independence from foreign domination

11) **bipolar** — having two opposing sides or systems


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# POSTWAR EASTERN EUROPE AND GERMANY: AN EARLY COLD WAR BATTLEGROUND

**Guiding Questions:**

- What was the nature of Soviet influence in Eastern Europe? How much real authority did the Soviet Union hold in the region?
- What events may have triggered the Soviet decision to blockade Berlin?
- What was the Western Allies' reaction to the blockade? Why do you think this option was chosen?

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## Soviet Union and Eastern Europe

As the expanded role of the United States became increasingly visible in Western Europe, the Soviet Union sought to strengthen ties to its Eastern European neighbors. For example, in February, 1948, the Communist Party seized control of Czechoslovakia in a bloodless coup. In the parliamentary elections that May, non-communists seeking votes were persecuted and election results were tampered such that the Communist Party won the majority of votes.

On May 9th, the Czech parliament approved a new constitution that called for the strengthened role of the Communist Party in national government. In June, 1948, when Czech President Edvard Benes refused to sign the constitution, the communist-led government forced him to resign. Under the new Czech president, Klement Gottwald, the government enacted laws to nationalize companies, abolish small businesses, promote collective agriculture, and encourage trade with the Soviet Union and Soviet satellite states. Relations with the Soviet Union were further strengthened through Soviet "advisors" who encouraged the purging of Czech "class enemies," most of whom were active members of the Communist Party. In one case, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia purged its own Secretary General, Rudolf Slansky.

Although the Soviet Union exerted tremendous influence over most of Eastern Europe, Soviet hegemony was not complete. Yugoslav leader Josip Tito, for example, sought to maintain an independent Yugoslavia, free from the reigns of the Kremlin. Yugoslavia had fought the Germans and defended its independence without the aid of Soviet forces during World War II. Thus, it did not share the wartime fate of other Eastern European nations that had been liberated by the Soviet army. After Tito refused to cooperate with the Soviet Communists, Stalin recalled the Soviet advisors stationed in Yugoslavia and summarily terminated Soviet economic agreements with Yugoslavia. Tito responded by seeking alliances with the Western powers.

## The Berlin Airlift and the Foundation of NATO

After World War II, the Allied Powers divided Germany into four zones of occupation. The United States, Great Britain, and France occupied the three western zones, while the Soviet Union occupied the east. The city of Berlin, located in the eastern zone, was similarly divided into two sections, the west occupied by the Americans, British, and French, and the east occupied by the Soviets. By 1947, conflict over the zones of occupation in Germany had risen. In the Soviet-occupied Eastern zone, former military plants and industrial centers had been transferred to the Soviet Union. The Soviet military administration in East Germany (SVAG) had organized a socialist unity party and made attempts for the party to gain control of the entire city of Berlin. Stalin had begun to appeal to German nationalism, campaigning for the restoration of a unified German state. To U.S. observers, it appeared that the Soviet Union intended to establish a satellite regime in East Germany.

# handout #5d

The Western Allies had their own plans for Germany. Recalling the harsh Treaty of Versailles that called for enormous German reparations after World War I, the Allies argued that war reparations should not cripple the German economy. The Allies instead chose to emphasize economic growth and the establishment of a strong democracy in Germany. To thwart inflation and kindle economic development, the Allies decided to reunite the three western zones and introduce a new currency into West Germany. The Soviet Union opposed this plan and eventually blockaded the city of Berlin on June 24th, 1948. The blockade banned all traffic to and from the city. To counter the Soviet move, the United States, Britain, and France initiated an airlift effort to bring supplies to the city. During the 11-month airlift, more than 278,000 flights brought over 2.3 million tons of food, coal, and other goods to Berlin. On September 30th, 1949, the Soviet Union lifted the blockade.

**The Impact of the Berlin Blockade**

The Berlin blockade acted as a stimulus for collective defense in Western Europe. On April 4th, 1949, the United States, Canada, Great Britain, France, Iceland, Italy, Denmark, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, and Belgium established the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). The North Atlantic Treaty states that "an armed attack against one or more...signatories would be considered an attack against all of them."

In addition to prompting the formation of NATO, the Berlin blockade and airlift strengthened the cause for the establishment of a divided Germany. On May 21st, 1949, the zones occupied by the United States, France, and Great Britain were united to form the Federal Republic of Germany. The new republic immediately ratified a constitution, and Konrad Adenauer became the first German chancellor chosen through democratic elections. In October of 1949, the German Democratic Republic was established as a communist government in the Soviet occupation zone.

**Vocabulary**

1) **bloodless coup** — non-violent overthrow of the government
2) **nationalize** — to transfer ownership or control of a business, industry or property from an individual to the government
3) **collective agriculture** — farming organized by workers under state control
4) **purge** — to expel or remove undesirable people
5) **hegemony** — dominating influence by one nation over others
6) **Kremlin** — The Soviet government; the citadel of Moscow where Soviet government offices were located
7) **Western powers** — U.S., Great Britain, Canada and their allies
8) **Treaty of Versailles** — a treaty signed in 1919; formally established Germany's war guilt and ordered it to pay reparations to the Allies.
9) **reparations** — compensation demanded of a defeated country for damage or injury in a war
10) **thwart** — to hinder
11) **blockade** — organized prevention of the entrance and exit of goods


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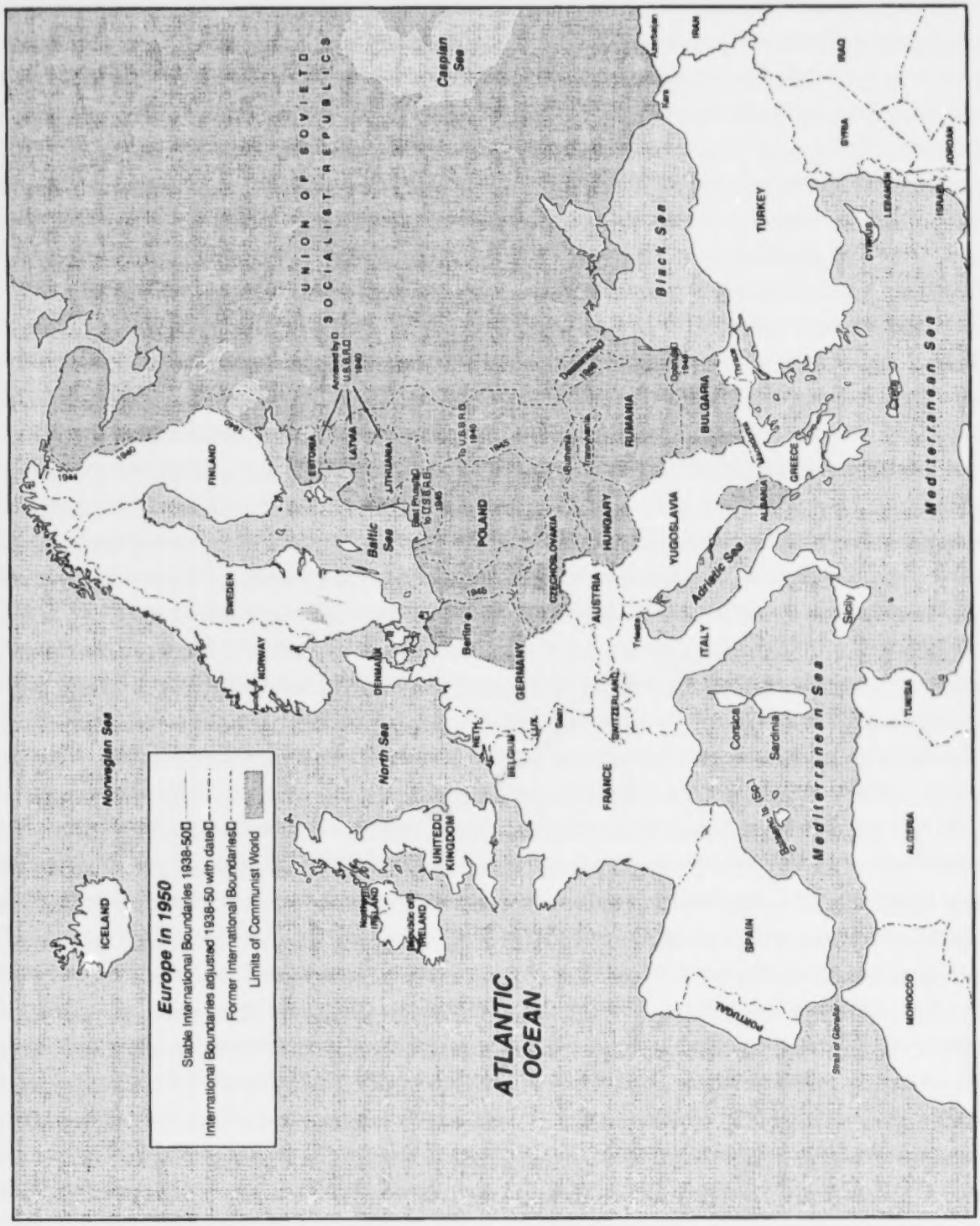




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12) **airlift** — transportation of people and objects by air when no other means is available

13) **stimulus** — incentive, motive, impetus

14) **collective defense** — nations acting in alliance to protect a common interest

15) **chancellor** — prime minister (of Germany)

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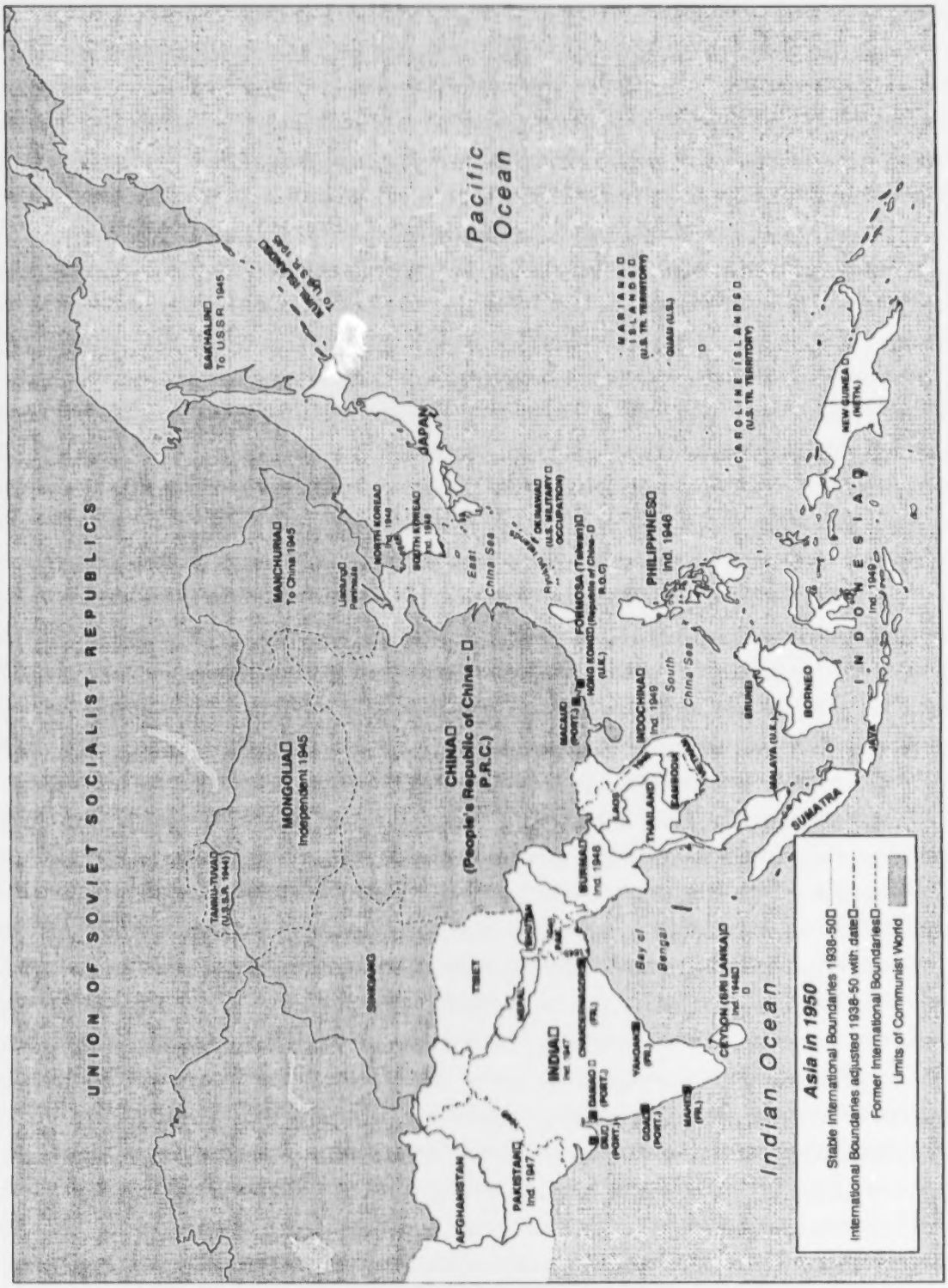




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# BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

**Chiang Kai-shek** (1887–1975), political and military leader of 20th-century China, a pivotal figure in the country's modern history. Chiang served as leader of the *Kuomingtang* (KMT; Nationalist Party) after the death of its founder, Sun Yat-Sen, in 1925. Chiang Kai-shek led the efforts to defeat the Chinese Communists and unify China during a period of civil war and to resist the Japanese in World War II (1939–1945). After the Communists gained control of the Chinese mainland in 1949, Chiang retreated to Taiwan, where he established a government in exile. He is also known as Jiang Jieshi.

**Churchill, Sir Winston Leonard Spencer** (1874–1965), British politician and prime minister of the United Kingdom (1940–1945, 1951–1955). Churchill is believed by many to be the greatest British leader of the 20th century, for his strong and decisive leadership during World War II (1939–1945). Churchill played a key role in mobilizing Britain's war effort and strengthening its defense capabilities against Nazi Germany and in inspiring the people and the Allied forces all over the world. Churchill's political life extended from Queen Victoria's reign in the late 19th century to the start of the Cold War. His impressive political career included several important cabinet appointments in addition to the role of Prime Minster. Churchill was also known as a great orator and remembered for the many books on British history and politics he wrote throughout his lifetime. His great literary prowess won him the Nobel Prize for literature in 1953.

**Dulles, John Foster** (1888–1959), United States Secretary of State (1953–1959). Educated at Princeton and George Washington Universities and at the University of Paris, he practiced law in New York City in 1911 and subsequently became known as an authority on international law. After serving as an adviser at several post-World War II international conferences, Dulles was appointed to negotiate the U.S. peace treaty with Japan in 1951; two years later he became secretary of state in the cabinet of President Dwight D. Eisenhower.

**Gandhi, Mohandas "Mahatma" Karamchand** (1869–1948), Indian nationalist leader, who established his country's freedom through a nonviolent revolution. Gandhi studied law in London and was admitted to the British bar in 1891. In the years following he devoted his efforts to improving the lives of immigrant Indians in Southern Africa where he developed his ideas on passive resistance against injustice. He led India's dogged struggle for independence from Britain and held fast to his belief in nonviolent protest and religious tolerance. Gandhi gained many followers with his beliefs and was imprisoned several times for leading demonstrations of passive resistance against British rule. Gandhi also advocated India's economic independence. He was appointed the leader of the Indian National Congress, which initiated the movement for India's nationhood. In 1934, he chose Jawarharlal Nehru to be his successor but continued to play an active part in India's fight for independence until his assassination by Nathuram Godse on January 30, 1948, by a Hindu fanatic.

**Hirohito** (1901–1989), emperor of Japan from 1926 until his death in 1989, the last Japanese ruler to uphold the divinity of the Japanese emperor. Hirohito's reign lasted longer than that of any other monarch in Japanese history.

**Ho Chi Minh** (1890–1969), Vietnamese Communist leader. In the 1920s, Ho began his communist political career in France, where he advocated self-rule and independence for Indochina. He went to the Soviet Union for further training. In the 1930s he founded the Indochinese Communist Party (ICP) in Hong Kong. After various arrests for engaging in radical activities in China and Hong Kong, Ho returned to the Soviet Union in obscurity. His communist philosophy, which emphasized national liberation over social revolution placed him at odds with the Soviet Communist Party. Ho believed that rural peasants rather than urban workers created the driving force behind Asian revolutions. In the late 1930s, Ho returned to China to advise the Chinese Communist armed forces during the Second

Sino-Japanese War (1937–1945). In 1941, Ho returned to Vietnam where he helped found a new Communist-dominated independence movement (Viet Minh), which fought Japanese military forces occupying Indochina. When Japan surrendered in August 1945, Viet Minh units assumed control of northern Vietnam and established the independent Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV), with Ho as president.

**MacArthur, Douglas** (1880–1964), United States general, who commanded Allied troops in the Pacific during World War II. As supreme commander of the Southwest Pacific, MacArthur led a combined force of American and Australian troops in a series of famous victories, gradually retaking the islands that had been seized by Japan at the onset of the war. During MacArthur's campaign to reconquer the Philippines (October 1944–July 1945), he was promoted to the rank of General of the Army. Before he could implement his plans to invade Japan, the Japanese surrendered. MacArthur supervised the postwar Allied Occupation of Japan. Later in his military career, he led United Nations forces during the Korean War.

**Mao Zedong** (1893–1976), foremost Chinese Communist leader of the 20th century and the principal founder of the People's Republic of China. After having been allies in the fight against Chinese warlords in power, growing ideological and political differences led to a permanent rift between the Nationalists and China's communist party in 1927. Chiang Kai-shek led the nationalists in a purge against the communists. Mao recruited troops among the peasant classes, to fight the nationalists and after his defeat in the Autumn Harvest Uprising, he retreated to Jianxi Province where he experimented with rural land reform and recruited troops for the Red Army. Civil wars between the Nationalists and Communists continued, only pausing briefly in the 1930s when they united to fight against the Japanese. In 1945, shortly after Japan surrendered in World War II, fighting resumed between communist and nationalist troops. The Communists, which had mass peasant support and a well-disciplined army, defeated the Nationalists in 1949. Mao founded the People's Republic of China (PRC) in Tiananmen Square in Beijing on October 1.

**Marshall, George Catlett** (1880–1959), United States military commander, army chief of staff during World War II. When he retired in 1945, President Harry S. Truman appointed him special representative, with the rank of ambassador, to China. He spent two years in China attempting to mediate the differences between the Chinese communist and nationalist leaders, but was unsuccessful. As secretary of state (1947–49) he played an important role in aiding the postwar economic recovery of Western Europe and initiated the so-called Marshall Plan.

**Nehru, Jawarharlal** (1889–1964), Indian nationalist leader and statesman who was the first prime minister of independent India (1947–1964). Nehru spent his formative years at Harrow, studied at Cambridge and then law at the Inner Temple in London. In 1912 he returned to India and practiced law for several years. In 1919 Nehru joined the Indian National Congress (which sought greater autonomy for India), led by Gandhi. In 1942 Nehru replaced Gandhi as the recognized leader of the National Congress party. In 1946, Gandhi chose Nehru to head the interim government established by Britain for India's transition to independence. As head of the interim government, Nehru unsuccessfully tried to prevent the partition of India into separate Hindu and Muslim states. Pakistan was founded as a separate Muslim state. In August 1947, after the British finally withdrew, India became a self-governing dominion within the Commonwealth and Nehru was elected prime minister. Although Nehru had not shared Gandhi's belief in passive resistance as a means towards achieving India's independence from Britain, he supported Gandhi until the latter's death in 1948. Nehru continued as prime minister when India became a republic in 1950 until his death on May 27, 1964, in New Delhi.

**Roosevelt, Franklin D.** (1882–1945), 32nd president of the United States (1933–1945). Roosevelt served longer than any other president. Roosevelt's terms spanned the Great Depression of the 1930s towards the conclusion of World War II, two of the greatest crises ever faced by the United States. He brought forth his domestic program, called the New Deal, which introduced critical reforms within the


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free enterprise system that increased the existing regulatory role of the federal government. Roosevelt's popularity with the majority of the people and the Democratic party grew throughout his presidential term. During World War II, Roosevelt's initial isolationist stance gradually gave way when Hitler's military aggression posed a serious threat to the safety of Britain and the rest of the democratic world. Roosevelt and Congress declared war on Japan after its attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941 and subsequently on Germany and Italy when they aided Japan.

**Stalin, Joseph** (1879–1953), general secretary of the Communist Party of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) from 1922 to 1953, Stalin is most known for his aggressive and adroit political maneuvering and abuse of absolute power. Stalin implemented an economic policy forcing peasants into state-owned collective farms and spearheaded a program of rapid industrialization, which started with the ambitious first Five-Year Plan in 1928, intended to strengthen the Communist regime against foreign enemies. The exploitation of the countryside to finance these plans resulted in the deaths of millions of peasants from famine. Stalin is also notorious for initiating a massive purge of political leaders and intellectuals. It is estimated that between 1.5 million and 7 million individuals were arrested and executed from 1936 to 1938 in the Great Purge. Many others were imprisoned in forced labor camps. His declining years were marked by extreme paranoia and ordered arrests of potential rivals for power. Stalin died of a stroke in 1953.

**Sukarno** (1901–1970), in 1927 Sukarno co-founded the Indonesian Nationalist Party (*Partai Nasional Indonesia*, or PNI) and became its first leader. The goal of the party was to achieve independence for Indonesia through popular struggle against the Dutch. A skilled public speaker, Sukarno quickly drew a mass following for the PNI. In 1929 the Dutch jailed him for being a threat to public order, and the PNI collapsed in his absence. When Japan invaded and occupied Indonesia in 1942, during World War II, Sukarno returned to Jakarta and worked with the Japanese regime. He argued later that his collaboration with the Japanese enabled him to advance the cause of Indonesian independence and protect the Indonesian people from the worst excesses of the occupation. In 1944 a committee was established to prepare for Indonesian independence, and Sukarno was a leading member of the committee. He was a dominant figure of Indonesia's nationalist movement against the Dutch and the country's first president (1945–1968). He was toppled following an attempted coup and held under house arrest until his death.

**Tito, Josip Broz** (1892–1980), president of Yugoslavia, who established a Communist state independent of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) after World War II (1939–1945). After Nazi Germany attacked Yugoslavia and the USSR in 1941, Tito formed an all-Yugoslav Partisan force to counter the Germans and their Croatian Fascist allies. In 1942 he formed a Communist-dominated provisional government. With the support of the Allies, Tito was recognized as prime minister in 1945. In the 1960s Tito joined with leaders of other developing countries to promote the concept of nonalignment—independence from both the United States and the USSR—maintaining neutrality during the Cold War. In 1953 he was elected president. He supported the Soviet's gradual easing of relations with the West, but protested against the USSR's invasions of Hungary (1956), Czechoslovakia (1968), and Afghanistan (1979). Tito's independent stance preceded and influenced the Chinese, Albanian, and Eurocommunist challenges to Soviet supremacy in the Communist world. In 1963 Tito relinquished the position of prime minister. He was named president for life in 1974. Tito died six years later after a prolonged illness.

**Yoshida Shigeru** (1878–1967), Japanese prime minister (1946–47, 1948–54), born in Tokyo. He entered the foreign service in 1906 and held various diplomatic posts in China and Scandinavia before becoming vice foreign minister (1928–30). After militarist elements vetoed his appointment as foreign minister in 1936, he was made ambassador to Britain until 1939. Arrested in 1945 for advocating peace, Yoshida was named Japan's foreign minister after its surrender, one of the few prewar political leaders eligible to hold office. Assuming leadership of the Liberal Party, he was elected prime minister first in 1946. Yoshida presided over the adoption of a new constitution, the signing of a peace treaty and a mutual security pact with the United States, and land reform.

# GROUP INSTRUCTIONS

## Scenario

You and your classmates are scholars on the origins of the Cold War. To commemorate the 1951 San Francisco Peace Treaty, a local television station has chosen to produce a documentary series on the events leading to the Peace Treaty. It has decided to interview scholars with extensive knowledge about the global and regional events that occurred in the immediate postwar period.

Your country/regional group has been asked to participate in the documentary program. In this simulation, your group will comment on three events that took place in the country or region to which your group has been assigned, explaining why each event is important to understand the origins of the Cold War and the context of the 1951 San Francisco Peace Treaty.

## Time frame

You will have approximately 30 minutes to prepare a five-minute group presentation.

## Directions

1. In your group, discuss the events or issues that you feel were most important to the country or region that you read about. Refer to your responses to the homework assignment.

2. Choose the top three events, and fill out the Event Cards (Activity Card #1b).

3. Prepare a brief "documentary program" presentation. The presentation should address the events you have chosen. Assign one of the following speaking roles to each member of your group:

    - TV announcer/interviewer (one person)
    - Scholar commentators

4. As you present your group's events and/or issues, tape your Event Cards to the timeline your teacher has prepared. Make certain that the Event Cards correspond with the correct year or time period.

The viewing public (your classmates) has not had the opportunity to read the handouts about your group's country or region.

During your presentation, you are encouraged to refer to a world map or map Handouts #6a, #6b, or #6c to better inform your audience.

## Assessment

Your group's presentation and Event Cards will be graded for content, clarity, and group collaboration.


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# ISSUE/EVENT CARD

**Directions**
Fill in an Event Card for each of the three events or issues your group will discuss in the television documentary.

Tear or cut at the dotted line. For the timeline (on the wall), tape the card under the corresponding year or general time period.

---

**Group (Circle one):**

Japan
China
South/Southeast Asia
Soviet Union
United States/Europe

---

**Event or Issue:**

**Year(s):**

**Brief description of event or issue:**

**Rationale–Why is this important**

# POSTWAR RELATIONS WORKSHEET

Consider the following questions: What roles did these countries play during and after World War II? What events shaped the postwar alliances for each country/region?

| COUNTRY OR REGION | KEY EVENTS AND ISSUES |
|---|---|
| JAPAN | |
| CHINA | |
| SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIA | |
| SOVIET UNION | |
| UNITED STATES AND EUROPE | |


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*Lesson Two*

# PERSPECTIVES ON THE SAN FRANCISCO PEACE TREATY AND CONFERENCE: USING PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SOURCES

## Organizing Questions

- What were the most contentious issues involved in concluding a peace treaty with Japan?
- How do historians use primary and secondary sources?

## Introduction

In this lesson, students will discuss the San Francisco Peace Treaty and the Peace Treaty Conference through the use of primary sources. Students will learn about the development of the Peace Treaty draft as well as the views of key Allied nations affected by the Peace Treaty. After learning about the various types of sources used in historical research, students will engage in a classroom activity that involves discussions of historical documents related to the Peace Treaty. They will then work in small groups to study primary sources that address some of the contentious issues involving the San Francisco Peace Treaty. Each group will develop a brief written historical analysis of its document and will present its findings to the class. Finally, the teacher will lead a class-wide discussion about the interplay between the positions of all parties concerned with the San Francisco Peace Treaty.

## Objectives

*knowledge*

- to understand the procedure through which the San Francisco Peace Treaty was created
- to understand the differences between primary and secondary sources
- to gain specific knowledge about an individual country's or region's opinions on what a peace treaty with Japan should say

*attitude*

- to realize the complexity and disagreement inherent in negotiations among groups with disparate viewpoints

*skill*

- to develop the ability to use primary sources
- to develop presentation and teamwork skills

## Materials

Handout #1a: *How Do Historians Read Documents?*

Handout #1b/Transparency #1: *Primary and Secondary Sources in Context*

Answer Key #1: *Primary and Secondary Sources in Context*

Transparency #2a

Transparency #2b

Transparency #2c

Transparency #2d

**Group One—Japan**

Activity Card #1a: *Instructions for Examining Primary Sources* (Japan)

Activity Card #1b: *Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida's Statement at the Treaty of Peace with Japan Conference*

**Group Two—China**

Activity Card #2a: *Instructions for Examining Primary Sources* (China)

Activity Card #2b: *Memo to the Delegation of the United States— Chinese Participation*

**Group Three—South and Southeast Asia**

Activity Card #3a: *Instructions for Examining Primary Sources* (South and Southeast Asia)

Activity Card #3b: *Note from the Government of India to the U.S. Government, August 23, 1951*

**Group Four—Soviet Union**

Activity Card #4a: *Instructions for Examining Primary Sources* (Soviet Union)

Activity Card #4b: *Remarks by Andrei Gromyko (Soviet Ambassador to the United States) at the Treaty of Peace with Japan Conference*

**Group Five—United States and Europe**

Activity Card #5a: *Instructions for Examining Primary Sources* (United States and Europe)

Activity Card #5b: *Central Intelligence Agency, Intelligence Memorandum No. 197*

## Equipment

Overhead projector, masking tape

## Time

Roughly 2 class periods — Part one will take approximately 10–15 minutes. Part Two requires 30 minutes. Part Three will take an entire class period and Part Four will take 10 minutes.

## Teacher Preparation

These instructions are based on a class of 30 students. If you have more or fewer than 30 students in the class, adjust the preparation accordingly.

1. Prepare copies of Transparencies #1, #2a, #2b, #2c, and #2d to view in class on an overhead projector.
2. Make 5 "signs" on 8 1/2" x 11" paper labeled as follows: "Japan," "China," "United States," "Indonesia," and "Soviet Union."
3. Make 6 copies of Activity Cards #1a and #1b (one for each member of Group 1).
4. Make 6 copies of Activity Cards #2a and #2b (one for each member of Group 2).
5. Make 6 copies of Activity Cards #3a and #3b (one for each member of Group 3).
6. Make 6 copies of Activity Cards #4a and #4b (one for each member of Group 4).
7. Make 6 copies of Activity Cards #5a and #5b (one for each member of Group 5).
8. Following Part Three of this lesson, students will be assigned to read Handouts #1–#3 from Lesson Three to prepare for the next class session. Accordingly, make 30 copies of the following Lesson Three handouts: Handout #1: *Background on the Reparations Clause of the San Francisco Peace Treaty;* Handout #2: *Guiding Questions;* and Handout #3: *Reparations and Apologies: History at a Glance.*

## Procedure Part One

In this part of Lesson Two, students will learn how to read historical documents critically. After reading Handout #1a: *How Do Historians Read Documents?*, students will complete a worksheet (Handout #1b) that tests understanding of primary and secondary sources.

Some students may have previous exposure to the concepts of primary and secondary sources. If so, you may wish to skip Part One of this lesson and proceed to Parts Two and Three, both of which involve analysis of actual primary and secondary sources.

1. After debriefing Lesson One, explain to the students that they will be learning about the San Francisco Peace Treaty by analyzing primary sources related to the Conference on the Treaty of Peace with Japan (San Francisco Peace Treaty Conference). Students will examine the viewpoint of a particular country or region in detail. They will use primary sources to develop a presentation as a group.

2. Discuss Handout #1a in class, addressing some of the following questions:

   - What are the differences between primary and secondary sources?
   - What should we look for as we read historical documents?

   To engage in further discussion, ask the class to consider the following points with regard to their history textbook:

   - Who wrote the textbook? Who is the intended audience?
   - What might be the goals and intentions of the author(s)?

3. Using a transparency of Handout #1b, lead a class discussion on primary and secondary sources. Ask students to share their responses as well as their rationale for identifying sources as "primary" or "secondary." Correct responses are listed on Answer Key #1.

## Part Two

In Part Two, students will analyze primary and secondary sources such as records of the San Francisco Peace Conference, and an entry from a Chinese encyclopedia. Students will be asked to respond to transparencies of documents based on their knowledge from Lesson One. This activity should take approximately 30 minutes.

1. Before class, hang signs labeled "Japan," "China," "United States," "Indonesia," and "Soviet Union" in distinct areas of the classroom.

2. Project Transparency #2a onto a screen in front of the classroom. Ask a student or students to read the transparency aloud.

3. Ask students to stand under the sign representing the country from which they think the document originated. After students have made their decisions, ask them to quietly return to their seats. Alternatively, ask students to point to the sign representing the country from which they think the document originated.

4. Lead a discussion about the document, addressing the following questions below. Allow approximately five minutes per document.

   - Is the document a primary or secondary source? Why?
   - Who might have written the document? Why did you choose to stand under (country name)? Emphasize here that in some cases, multiple countries could have written the same document since they shared common views on the Peace Treaty with Japan.
   - When do you think the document was written?
   - What issue(s) is the author addressing?
   - Who might the intended audience be?


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- How might a historian use this document?

5. Following discussion, reveal the source of the document and whether it should be considered primary or secondary. Briefly discuss the position of the country represented. Ask students some of the following questions: Why might this country have this opinion? Were you surprised to learn the source of this document? Why/why not? Sources are listed below.

   Transparency #2a:

   *World History Encyclopedia*. Shanghai Dictionary Encyclopedia Publishing Co., Shanghai: 1985. (Entry translated from the original Chinese by Nan Ma Hartman).

   Transparency #2b:

   Subarjo, Ahmad (Indonesian Delegate). Remarks made at the Treaty of Peace with Japan Conference, San Francisco, September 7, 1951.

   Transparency #2c:

   U.S. Department of State. "The Fundamental Concept of the Treaty." Selection from the memo to the delegation of the United States to the Conference for the Conclusion and Signature of Treaty of Peace with Japan, (1951).

   Transparency #2d:

   *Koukou Nihonshi A (High School Japanese History: A)*. Tokyo, Japan: Jikkyou Shuppan, 1998. (Entry translated from the original Japanese by Rachel Brunette).

6. Repeat steps #1–#5 for Transparencies #2b, #2c, and #2d.

7. During the last few minutes of the period, conduct steps #1–#3 of Part Three (see below).

## Part Three

In Part Three, students will analyze primary sources such as classified CIA memos and speeches delivered at the San Francisco Peace Conference. Students will then work in small groups to share their documents with the class. Part Three of this lesson will take an entire class period.

1. Divide students into 5 groups. Each group will read and prepare materials for one country or region. Groups should continue to work with the same country or region they studied in Lesson One.

2. Distribute activity cards to the appropriate group (e.g., each student in Group 1 (Japan) will receive copies of Activity Cards #1a and #1b; students in Group 2 (China) will receive copies of Activity Cards #2a and #2b). You may also want to distribute copies of the San Francisco Peace Treaty (see Appendices) to students.

3. Ask students to read the activity cards and answer the questions as homework for the next class.

4. Allow students 25–30 minutes to discuss their group's primary source document and to prepare their group presentation.

5. Ask each group to present its work to the rest of the class, following the role-play activity described on the activity cards. Remind students to take notes during each presentation. Each presentation should last approximately 3–5 minutes.

6. During the last few minutes of the period, distribute copies of Lesson Three: Handouts #1–#3 to each student in the class. Ask students to read all handouts and answer the questions on Handout #2 as homework for the next class session.

## Part Four

During the first ten minutes of the next class, debrief with the following questions:

- What issues or themes seemed to be most common among the five groups?
- Why are these issues so significant?
- Do you think that it would be possible to develop a treaty satisfactory to all countries?
- How did U.S. concerns affect the treaty's wording? How might the treaty be different if another country had drafted it?
- Do you feel that all countries would be willing to compromise for the purpose of creating a treaty that they could agree upon?
- Can you think of any situations in your own life in which you had to undergo a process of agreement with several groups? What was the outcome? Were you able to compromise?


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# How Do Historians Read Documents?

How do historians read documents? Isn't reading the same for all people no matter what they're reading? Probably not. In general, the reading process is different depending on the material being read and who is doing the reading. When students in school read, they are usually reading a textbook and trying to remember as much information from the book as possible. Textbooks and other sources that present a historian's interpretation of history are called *secondary sources*.

In this lesson, you will be taking on the role of historians. Historians use secondary sources in their research, but they also draw their interpretations from a rich variety of *primary sources*. Primary sources are the materials on which historical interpretation is based—things like speeches, letters, photos, diaries, and newspaper articles from the past. When historians look at such materials, they are doing much more than trying to remember information. They are actually engaging in "imaginary conversations."

Historians engage in conversations with the author of the document, asking questions such as: Why did you write this? How did you get your information? What were you intending to accomplish? Who was your intended audience? How did you want to influence people's thinking? What else was going on in the world at the time? Who disagreed with you? Why? As they read and answer these questions, historians "talk back" to the author. In this process, they decide just how much of the author's writing they actually believe. They judge the author's writing by looking at it from different perspectives, including those of the author, the persons for whom the document was intended, and other persons who might have read it. Rather than seeing primary sources as materials that set the record straight, historians view such documents as slippery and ambiguous pieces of information.

Think about your own writing. Are you always completely honest? Do you see things from only your point of view? Do you say things in a certain way sometimes to influence how other people will think of you? Historians understand that this is how people operate, and they bring this understanding to their reading of documents.

As you read documents, try to have these imaginary conversations with the authors and different audiences. This will help you see that historians don't discover the truth about the past so much as they develop interpretations about what happened in the past, what it means, and why it is important. As you read in this way, think of your textbook as a historical document. What might be the goals and intentions of its authors? How do you judge their interpretations?

# PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SOURCES IN CONTEXT

Directions: Identify whether each source listed below should be categorized as a primary or secondary source. Circle the correct answers.

## TOPIC: WORLD WAR II

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Your social studies textbook | Primary | Secondary |
| Speech by President Roosevelt | Primary | Secondary |
| Photographs taken during the Battle of Iwo Jima | Primary | Secondary |
| A military historian's interpretation of photographs from the Battle of Iwo Jima | Primary | Secondary |
| The San Francisco Peace Treaty | Primary | Secondary |
| A TV documentary made in 1995 about the atomic bombing of Hiroshima | Primary | Secondary |
| Copy of a top-secret memo from General MacArthur to President Truman | Primary | Secondary |


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## PRIMARY AND SECONDARY SOURCES IN CONTEXT

Directions: Identify whether each source listed below should be categorized as a primary or secondary source. Circle the correct answers.

### TOPIC: WORLD WAR II

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Your social studies textbook | Primary | (Secondary) |
| Speech by President Roosevelt | (Primary) | Secondary |
| Photographs taken during the Battle of Iwo Jima | (Primary) | Secondary |
| A military historian's interpretation of photographs from the Battle of Iwo Jima | Primary | (Secondary) |
| The San Francisco Peace Treaty | (Primary) | Secondary |
| A TV documentary made in 1995 about the atomic bombing of Hiroshima | Primary | (Secondary) |
| Copy of a top-secret memo from General MacArthur to President Truman | (Primary) | Secondary |

**The San Francisco Peace Treaty:**
A biased treaty between Japan and a group of countries signed under America's manipulation after World War II. This treaty was signed in San Francisco on September 8th, 1951, and became valid on April 28th, 1952. The United States did not invite China to sign this treaty although China had been occupied and impaired by Japanese imperialism longer than any other country. India, Burma, and Yugoslavia were invited but did not send representatives to attend the conference. The Soviet Union, Poland, and Czechoslovakia attended the conference but did not participate in signing the Treaty. The San Francisco Peace Treaty was signed by only 48 countries including the United States, Great Britain, and France. It is illegitimate and unilateral.

**Unilateral** — one-sided


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Mr. Chairman... my government has no intention of imposing undue hardships on Japan and its people by placing upon their shoulders a heavy burden of reparations, yet on behalf of the _____government, I should like to go on record as laying the blame for a large measure of our present difficulties, shortages, and delays in realizing our reconstruction and rehabilitation after World War II, at the door of the Japanese and their activities during the occupation of our country.

The damages which _____ suffered during the Japanese occupation are twofold: first, the loss of life of approximately four million people; and second, material damages of billions of dollars....My government is fully aware that Japan at present—and I wish to emphasize the phrase "at present"—is in no position to pay in cash for our reparation claims. But at the same time my government believes that in due time, in the not too distant future, Japan will regain its viability and will be able to properly discharge its responsibilities.

**Reparations** — compensation demanded of a defeated nation for damage or injury in a war

Only the _____ could hope to enforce a restrictive Japanese peace settlement, if it could long be enforced at all, but the _____ has neither the means nor the will to undertake so profitless a task. The interest of _____ lies in Japan's revival as a peacefully inclined and self-sustaining member of the world community able to bear its share of collective responsibility for its own and general security. It is essential that Japan's trained manpower and modern industrial plant not be placed at the service of the communist bloc but be aligned on the side of freedom and peace. A liberal peace settlement, following on the accomplishments of the occupation, is a major step in the achievement of that goal.


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Immediately following the outbreak of the Korean War in September 1950, the United States brought up the issue of peace with Japan to the Far Eastern Commission. The following year, the U.S.–British mutual draft of the treaty was announced, and in September, 55 nations sent delegates to the San Francisco Peace Conference. However, neither Chinese nor North and South Korean delegates were invited.

The main contents of the San Francisco Peace Treaty were the following:

1) Restore Japan's sovereignty.
2) Reaffirm Korean independence.
3) Renounce Japan's right to the territories of Taiwan, Hokoshoto, Chishima Islands, and Southern Karafuto.
4) Establish American authority over the islands south of the 29th parallel including the Nansei Islands, and Ogasawara Islands.
5) Under agreement with the Allied Powers, Japan would permit foreign military presence in Japan.

In principle, the Allies would abandon further pursuits to seek reparations from Japan.

# INSTRUCTIONS FOR EXAMINING PRIMARY SOURCES (JAPAN)

**Document:** *Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida's Statement at the San Francisco Peace Treaty Conference*

This statement was read during the Eighth Plenary Session of the Treaty of Peace with Japan Conference (San Francisco Peace Treaty Conference), at the Opera House, San Francisco, on September 7, 1951. In the statement, Yoshida states Japan's overwhelming support of the Peace Treaty. He also notes several points that cause Japan "pain and anxiety."

## Individual Activity

While reading Yoshida's statement, write your answers to the following questions. Note that for some questions, there is no right or wrong response.

- What is the document's argument?
- When was the document written?
- Who wrote this document and why? What biases might the author bring to the document?
- Who was the intended audience? How does this determine the document's contents?
- Yoshida mentions that certain points of the treaty cause "pain and anxiety." What are your opinions on the two topics he covers—namely, territorial repossession and economics?
- Reread the last paragraph of the statement. What does Yoshida see as a threat to Japan?
- Yoshida states that Japan must seek help from "a country that can and will help us." What kind of help does he believe Japan needs? From what country do you think Japan will seek help? Why?

## Group Activity:

The document you have read has been selected for inclusion in a museum exhibit on the Cold War at the National Archives. Your task is to prepare a group of volunteer docents (guides) to discuss the documents with museum visitors. Because many documents will be discussed at the docent training session, your group will have just 3–5 minutes to present the document you have studied.

In your presentation, be sure to address the questions listed above. Your group may also discuss parts of the document that could be confusing to museum visitors. You will have approximately 25–30 minutes to prepare your presentation.


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Doc. 20
VM/9

EIGTH PLENARY SESION
Opera House, 8 p.m., September 7, 1951

MR. SHIGERU YOSHIDA...This fair and generous treaty commands, I assure you, the overwhelming support of my nation. On the other hand, during these past few days in this great conference hall, criticisms and complaints have been voiced by some delegates against this treaty. It is impossible that anyone can become completely satisfied with a multilateral peace settlement at this time. Even we Japanese, who are happy to accept this treaty, find in it certain points which cause us pain and anxiety. I speak of this with diffidence, bearing in mind the treaty stands in magnanimity unparalleled in history and the position of Japan. But I would be remiss in my obligation to my own people if I failed to call your attention to these points.

In the first place, there is the matter of territorial disposition. The Ryukyu archipelago and the Bonins may be placed under United Nations jurisdiction. The statements by the American and British Delegates on the residual sovereignty of Japan over these islands are a source of gratification to my colleagues and to all my country. I cannot but hope that the administration of these islands will be put back into Japanese hands in the not distant future with the reestablishment of world security, especially the security of Asia...

The second point is economic. Japan has lost 45 percent of her entire territory, together with its resources. Her population of almost 84 million has to be confined within the remaining areas, which are war-devastated, with their important cities bombed and blasted.

The Peace Treaty will deprive Japan of her vast overseas assets. Moreover, article 14 empowers Allied Nations which suffered no damage from the war to seize Japanese private property in their country. There is fear as to whether Japan, reduced to such a predicament, could ever manage to pay reparations to certain designated Allied Powers without shifting the burden upon the other Allied Powers.

However, we have undertaken the obligations of the treaty in this respect, and we mean to carry them out. I solicit the understanding and support of the governments concerned, vis-à-vis Japan's efforts toward a satisfactory solution of this problem, in the face of huge difficulties.

As regards China, I confine my remarks to two points. The first point is that, like others, we regret the disunity of that country which prevents it from being here. The second point is that the role of China trade in Japanese economy, important as it is, has often been exaggerated, as proven by our experience over the last six years. Unfortunately, the sinister thoughts of totalitarian oppression and tyranny still operate throughout the globe. These forces are sweeping over half the Asiatic continent, sowing seeds of dissention, spreading unrest and confusion, and breaking out into open aggression here and there, indeed, at the very door of Japan. Being unarmed as we are, we must, in order to ward off the danger of war, seek help from a country that can and will help us...

# INSTRUCTIONS FOR EXAMINING PRIMARY SOURCES (CHINA)

**Documents:** *Memo to the Delegation of the United States–"Chinese Participation"*

This document belongs to a set of internal memos sent to the U.S. delegates to the San Francisco Peace Treaty Conference. This document supports the U.S. decision to not recognize the People's Republic of China as a delegation to the conference.

Recall that the *People's Republic of China* (PRC) represents the central Communist government on the Chinese mainland under Communist leader Mao Zedong, and that the *Chinese National government* represents the government that fled to Taiwan (Formosa) under Chiang Kai-shek in 1949 following the Chinese civil war. At the time of the San Francisco peace conference, the United States supported the Nationalist government in Taiwan.

**Individual Activity**

While reading this document, write your answers to the following questions. Note that for some questions, there is no right or wrong response.

- What is the document's argument?
- When was the document written?
- Who wrote this document and why? What biases might the author bring to the document?
- Who was the intended audience? How does this determine the document's contents?
- What is the Soviet position regarding Chinese participation in the San Francisco Peace Treaty Conference?
- Reexamine the second paragraph of the document. What does the United States fear will happen to Japan if a treaty is not signed immediately?
- Why do you think the United States supports a separate, bilateral treaty between China and Japan? Is this fair to China? Why or why not?

**Group Activity:**

The documents you have read have been selected for inclusion in a museum exhibit on the Cold War at the National Archives. Your task is to prepare a group of volunteer docents (guides) to discuss the documents with museum visitors. Because many documents will be discussed at the docent training session, your group will have just 3–5 minutes to present the documents you have studied.

In your presentation, be sure to address the questions listed above. Your group may also discuss parts of the document that could be confusing to museum visitors. You will have approximately 25–30 minutes to prepare your presentation.


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SECRET

US POS /6

DELEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
TO THE
CONFERENCE FOR CONCLUSION AND SIGNATURE
OF TREATY OF PEACE WITH JAPAN
San Francisco, California
September, 1951

## CHINESE PARTICIPATION

Of the fourteen nations (exclusive of China) principally concerned with the Japanese war, eight recognize the Chinese Peoples' Republic and six the National Government of China.* Of the nations recognizing the National Government it has developed that at most two, the United States and the Philippines, would be willing to be co-signers of the peace treaty with that Government. It is the view of the remainder that, even though the National Government is to be regarded as the legal government of China, that Government does not now have the power make peace on behalf of China. Therefore, for the United States to have insisted upon the National Government being a co-signer would have been to create a condition which would, in fact, have made it imprudent to make any Japanese peace settlement at this stage.

It is the considered view of the United States Government that it would be unwise to prolong the occupation of Japan lest that jeopardize the good will of the Japanese people, make it easy for Soviet and Chinese Communist influences to make powerful inroads, and risk communist control of Japan which, if it came, would make it virtually impossible for a non-communist government to survive in Formosa. Therefore, the vital interests of the United States in Japan and the Far East have required proceeding without any Chinese co-signature to the multilateral treaty, leaving it to China to conclude peace with Japan through a bilateral treaty such as is contemplated by Article 26 of the Treaty. The strong anti-communist nature of the Japanese Government is believed to exclude the practical possibility of its dealing in this manner with the Chinese Peoples' Republic.**

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* The Chinese Peoples' Republic is recognized by Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, the Netherlands, Pakistan, the United Kingdom, and the USSR, and the Chinese National Government by Australia, Canada, France, New Zealand, the Philippines, and the United States.

** The Minister of Finance of the Japanese Government is reported to have told the Diet on August 17 that Japan did not have to trade with Red China to survive, and to have hinted that Japan may not deal with Communist China. He reportedly stated Japan could attain economic independence through effective implementation of the U.S.–Japan economic program without the aid of Red China trade.

SECRET

# Instructions for Examining Primary Sources (South and Southeast Asia)

**Document:** *Note from the Government of India to the U.S. Government, August 23, 1951*

This note was delivered by the Embassy of India in Washington, D.C. to the U.S. State Department. The Indian government declined the U.S. invitation to the San Francisco Peace Treaty Conference based on two objections: they felt that the proposed treaty did not completely remove Japan's dependence on the United States, and they argued that all interested parties will not be able to approve the treaty in its current state.

**Individual Activity**

While reading the Indian Government's note, write your answers to the following questions. Note that for some questions, there is no right or wrong response.

- What is the document's argument?
- When was the document written?
- Who wrote this document and why? What biases might the author bring to the document?
- Who was the intended audience? How does this determine the document's contents?
- According to India, how does the treaty undermine Japan's "honour, equality and contentment among the community of free nations"?
- Why does India believe that the current treaty will not be acceptable to all interested countries?
- Why did India choose not to send representatives to the Peace Treaty Conference?
- How would India resolve the question of what should happen to Formosa (Taiwan)?

**Group Activity:**

The document you have read has been selected for inclusion in a museum exhibit on the Cold War at the National Archives. Your task is to prepare a group of volunteer docents (guides) to discuss the document with museum visitors. Because many documents will be discussed at the docent training session, your group will have just 3–5 minutes to present the document you have studied.

In your presentation, be sure to address the questions listed above. Your group may also discuss parts of the document that could be confusing to museum visitors. You will have approximately 25–30 minutes to prepare your presentation.


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Doc. 13

NOTE FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA TO THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT – AUGUST 23, 1951

EMBASSY OF INDIA
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Ambassador,

I am desired to convey to you the following reply on behalf of the Government of India to your Government's invitation to participate in a Conference to conclude a Treaty of Peace with Japan to be convened on September 4, 1951, in San Francisco...

Throughout the negotiations that have taken place between the two Governments on the subject of the Treaty the Government of India have laid emphasis upon two fundamental objectives:

1. The terms of the Treaty should concede to Japan a position of honour, equality and contentment among the community of free nations;

2. They should be so framed as to enable all countries specially interested in the maintenance of a stable peace in the Far East to subscribe to the Treaty sooner or later.

The Government of India have after most careful thought come to the conclusion that the Treaty does not in material respects satisfy either of these two criteria.

Condition (I)

(a) It is only natural to expect that Japan should desire the restoration in full of her sovereignty over territory of which the inhabitants have a historical affinity with her own people and which she has not acquired by aggression from any other country. The Ryuku and the Bonin Islands fully satisfy this description. Nevertheless the Treaty proposes that until the United States Government seek and obtain Trustee-ship over these Islands they should continue to be subject to the legislative and administrative control of the United Sates. It is apparent to the Government of India that such an arrangement cannot but be a source of dissatisfaction to large sections of the Japanese people and must carry the seed of future dispute and possible conflict in the Far East...

Condition (II)

As already stated the Government of India attach the greatest importance to the Treaty providing that the Island of Formosa should be returned to China. The time and manner of such return might be the subject of separate negotiations but to leave the future of the Island undetermined, in spite of past international agreements, in a document which attempts to regulate the relations of Japan with all Governments that were engaged in the last war against her does not appear to the Government of India to be either just or expedient. The same argument applies to the Kurile Island and to South Sakhaline.

For foregoing reasons, the Government of India have decided, with regret, that they cannot be parties to the treaty. It is their sincere hope that lasting peace will prevail in the Far East... As a first step, it is their intention, as soon as this may be practicable, to put an end to the state of war between them and Japan, and to establish full diplomatic relations with that country.

With assurances of my highest esteem,

S/M. K. Kirpalani,
Charge d'Affaires ad interim.

# Instructions for Examining Primary Sources (Soviet Union)

**Document:** *Remarks by Andrei Gromyko (Soviet Ambassador to the United States) at the Treaty of Peace with Japan Conference, San Francisco*

These remarks were made during the Treaty of Peace with Japan Conference (San Francisco Peace Treaty Conference), at the Opera House, San Francisco, on September 7, 1951. In his remarks, Gromyko argued for a discussion of the treaty itself, allowing room for proposing amendments or changes to the San Francisco Peace Treaty. U.S. statesman John Foster Dulles opposed Gromyko, arguing that the treaty had been discussed for 11 months prior to the San Francisco Peace Treaty Conference and that Soviet proposals at the conference were thus out of order.

## Individual Activity

While reading Gromyko's remarks, write your answers to the following questions. Note that for some questions, there is no right or wrong response.

- What is the document's argument?
- When was the document written?
- Who wrote this document and why? What biases might the author bring to the document?
- Who was the intended audience? How does this determine the document's contents?
- What does Gromyko mean by a "blind approval" of the San Francisco Peace Treaty? What does he say about the Soviet Union's position on this "blind approval" process? How do you think other countries, e.g., countries in South or Southeast Asia, Korea, felt about not being able to discuss amendments and proposals to the treaty?
- Discuss Gromyko's comments regarding the Chinese not being represented at San Francisco Peace Treaty Conference? How is this significant to the Soviet Union?

## Group Activity:

The document you have read has been selected for inclusion in a museum exhibit on the Cold War at the National Archives. Your task is to prepare a group of volunteer docents (guides) to discuss the document with museum visitors. Because many documents will be discussed at the docent training session, your group will have just 3–5 minutes to present the document you have studied.

In your presentation, be sure to address the questions listed above. Your group may also discuss parts of the document that could be confusing to museum visitors. You will have approximately 25–30 minutes to prepare your presentation.


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EIGTH PLENARY SESSION

Opera House, 8 p.m., September 7, 1951

(Provisional Verbatim Minutes)

MR. GROMYKO:

I have never made a secret of the fact that I consider that this is simply an act to force people to accept, without any change, the American-British draft of a Peace Treaty with Japan. But we must discuss it. It is a violation of human rights to force acceptance of something simply because it is convenient to the United States of America.

Is this Conference a meeting of members of sovereign states, trying to reach a just and acceptable peace—or is it simply a formal and empty procedure which has for its purpose the giving of a blind approval to the American-British proposal for a Peace Treaty with Japan? If this is such a Conference and if there are among the governments here those which are ready to accept such a position, the Soviet Union is not ready to follow the path, and such a situation cannot be explained by anything but fear of popular disapproval of discussion in public of the amendments to the treaty with Japan proposed by the Soviet Union. Since this draft, as was shown in the previous statement by the Soviet Delegation, does not create peace in the Far East but on the contrary turns Japan into an American military base, and this was shown even in the speech of the Prime Minister of Japan. This ignores and disparages the rights of the Japanese people and is an example of an imperialistic policy in the Far East which is aimed at starting a new war. For that reason the Soviet Delegation insists on a discussion and consideration of the proposals it has made regarding, in particular, the demilitarization of Japan.

...This will not change the situation but there is one fact which cannot be forgotten: this fact is that the great Chinese nation of 400 million people is not represented here simply because it is not convenient to certain circles in the United States, to certain circles which do not wish to see, to even look at the great aspirations of the Chinese people and do not wish to study, to consider such a peace treaty with Japan drafted in a way which would not permit a new aggression by Japan and a rebirth of Japanese militarism, militarism which threatens first of all its neighbors. I repeat, the Soviet Delegation insists on a discussion of the Soviet amendments and proposals and on the fact that a decision should be taken regarding those proposals, and if the President does not permit this, the Soviet Delegation challenges his ruling and wishes to see the Conference take a decision on it.

# INSTRUCTIONS FOR EXAMINING PRIMARY SOURCES (UNITED STATES AND EUROPE)

**Document:** *Central Intelligence Agency, Intelligence Memorandum No. 197, pp. 1–4*

This document focuses on Japan's military importance to the United States, the perceived threat of Soviet domination, and the establishment of Japanese armed forces. Although it does not directly deal with the subject of the San Francisco Peace Treaty, it provides insight into the world events that influenced the United States' decision to pursue a peace accord with Japan.

**Individual Activity**

While reading the CIA document, write your answers to the following questions. Note that for some questions, there is no right or wrong response.

- What is the document's argument?
- When was the document written?
- Who wrote this document and why? What biases might the author bring to the document?
- Who was the intended audience? How does this determine the document's contents?
- What is meant by Japan serving as a "foot in the door" in the Far East for the United States? What benefits does the United States perceive in allying itself with Japan?
- Describe how the "threat" of the Soviet Union is reflected throughout the CIA memo.
- How do you think the perceived threat of communism in Asia influenced U.S. policy makers to pursue a conciliatory peace treaty with Japan? If you had read this document in 1949, how would it have shaped your views toward the United States' strategic interests in Japan?

**Group Activity:**

The document you have read has been selected for inclusion in a museum exhibit on the Cold War at the National Archives. Your task is to prepare a group of volunteer docents (guides) to discuss the documents with museum visitors. Because many documents will be discussed at the docent training session, your group will have just 3–5 minutes to present the document you have studied.

In your presentation, be sure to address the questions listed above. Your group may also discuss parts of the document that could be confusing to museum visitors. You will have approximately 25–30 minutes to prepare your presentation.


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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

25 July 1949

INTELLIGENCE MEMORANDUM NO. 197

SUBJECT: Implications for US security of Developments in Asia

PROBLEM: To assess the trends and probable developments in Asia and their implications for US security.

ASSUMPTIONS: (1) A condition of present US policies in Asia.
(2) An indefinite continuation of the US-USSR "cold war" with, however, the ever-present contingency of an outbreak of hostilities.

US and Soviet strategic interests in the area here surveyed are discussed in detail in the CIA estimate ORE 17-49, extracts from the summary of which are set forth below:...

"The USSR, in its drive for world domination, can be expected to continue its present attempts at expansion and consolidation in Eurasia by all means short of direct involvement of Soviet armed forces, in an attempt to attain eventual decisive military superiority over the US in intercontinental warfare. Continued Soviet aggrandizement might precipitate open hostilities with the US before the USSR has achieved this decisive superiority.... There is grave danger that the USSR, with its vast territory and preponderant military manpower for employment in Eurasia, might well survive and successfully absorb an initial major US offensive against European USSR and thus achieve at least an intermediate stalemate. Under such conditions, and if the Soviet Union had established effective control over the Far East by occupation of key areas either in peacetime or in the war's early phases, the USSR would be in a position to exploit a self-sufficient Far Eastern war-making complex in addition to its own European industrial and military establishment. This combination could provide the USSR with the capability for decisive action in global war against the US..."

"Japan, because of its industrial potential, its large resources of trained military and industrial manpower and its strategic location, is the key to the development of a self-sufficient war making complex in the Far East...Control of Japan's industrial machine would be more valuable to the USSR than to the US, however, not only because the USSR has more immediate need for the products of Japan's industry but also because the USSR will be in effective control of the area (chiefly Northern China, Manchuria, and Korea) whose natural resources Japanese industry can utilize more efficiently. For this reason, long-range US security interests dictate the denial of Japan's capacity, both economic and military, to USSR exploitation."

"The present aggressive Soviet attitude in the Far East indicates that the USSR already appreciates that realization of the long-term decisive potential of the region will be enhanced by early-elimination of the US from the region, especially if accomplished without resort to war. Maintenance of the present US position in the Far East denies Soviet hegemony over key areas of the region, particularly Japan. Loss of that position, for any reason, will greatly facilitate Soviet exploitation of a potentially decisive war factor and will correspondingly reduce the means for subsequent US counter-action. US ability to derive full strategic advantage from the region and to deny its ultimate exploitation by the USSR largely depends on measures to be taken in the period extending from the present."

*Lesson Three*

# Contemporary Issues: The San Francisco Peace Treaty and the Question of War Responsibility

## Organizing Questions

- How did the San Francisco Peace Treaty address the issue of Japan's war responsibility and reparations? Why was this issue resolved in this manner?
- What are some international perspectives on war responsibility?
- What is an apology? What should constitute an apology in international relations?

## Introduction

In this lesson, students will examine how the San Francisco Peace Treaty continues to effect contemporary international relations. Specifically, students will learn about the reparations clause of the San Francisco Peace Treaty and the current debate regarding reparations and apologies for wartime atrocities. The class will engage in an "international conference" role-play activity in which they will discuss diverse viewpoints on war responsibility with respect to the treaty. To conclude the unit, students will complete a final essay on the peace treaty, integrating the themes presented in this unit.

## Objectives

*knowledge*

- to understand the complexities of current debates on reparations
- to understand the impact of the San Francisco Peace Treaty on contemporary issues
- to recognize that historical legacies continue to color international relations today

*attitude*

- to realize the complexity and disagreement inherent in legal documents
- to appreciate how individual lives can be affected by treaties and other international agreements

- to understand that it is often difficult to establish clear "right" or "wrong" solutions to international conflicts
- to understand the role of compromise in resolving a dispute

*skill*

- to work effectively in small groups
- to develop oral presentation and debate skills

## Materials

Handout #1: *Background on the Reparations Clause of the San Francisco Peace Treaty*

Handout #2: *Guiding Questions*

Handout #3: *Reparations and Apologies: History at a Glance*

Handout #4: *An International Conference*

Handout #5: *Proposals*

Handout #6: *Homework*

Transparency #1: *Conference Agenda*

Character Information Sheets #1–#15: *United States, Japan, Pan-Asia, and Germany Delegations*

## Equipment

Overhead projector

## Time

- At least 2 1/2 class periods. Part One will take approximately 2/3 of a class period. Parts Two and Three will require one class period each.

## Teacher Preparation

These instructions are based on a class of 30 students. If you have more or fewer than 30 students in the class, adjust the preparation accordingly.

1. Make 30 copies each of Handouts #1–#3 (should be completed in preparation for the previous class session/Lesson Two).
2. Make 30 copies each of Handouts #4–#6.
3. Prepare a copy of Transparency #1 to view on an overhead projector.
4. Make 1 or 2 copies each of Character Information Sheets #1–#15. Each student will be assigned to play a role. To accommodate larger classes, assign two or more students to share a role.
5. During Part 3 of this lesson, students will be assigned to read handouts in preparation for Lesson Four. Accordingly, prepare copies of the following Lesson Four handouts: Handout #1 (15 copies,

or copies for half of the class), Handout #2 (15 copies or copies for half of the class), Handout #3 (30 copies, or one copy per student).

## Procedure Part One

In Part One, students will discuss background information about the San Francisco Peace Treaty and contemporary reparations issues. Next, they will engage in a role-playing exercise in which they will each act as a delegate to an international conference on resolving war grievance issues. Students will discuss two proposals for resolving current debates over reparations and apologies related to World War II.

1. Discuss Handout #1: *Background on the Reparations Clause of the San Francisco Peace Treaty*, and Handout #3: *Reparations and Apologies: History at a Glance*. Students should have read the handouts prior to class and should come prepared for discussion. Divide the class into groups of three or four, and assign two to three of the questions on Handout #2: *Guiding Questions*, to each group for a brief discussion.

2. Regroup as a class. Briefly review the students' responses to the questions in a class discussion.

3. Inform students that they will be participating in a role-play activity in which each student will be assigned a role as a delegate to an international conference on resolving war grievance issues.

4. Distribute Handout #4: *An International Conference*, to students and ask a student to read the first half of the page aloud. (Read up to the Group Questions). (5 minutes)

5. Assign a role numbered 1 through 15 to each student in the class. The 16 roles are described on Character Information Sheets #1–#15. Depending on the number of students in the class, several students may share the same role.

   NOTE: **You may wish to pre-assign roles to students to save time.**

6. Distribute the appropriate Character Information Sheets to students. Ask students to read their roles silently. Students should take notes about their roles in the section labeled "Character Notes."

7. Ask students to make a placard out of a piece of paper folded in three parts. The placard should state (1) the character's country and (2) the character's occupation. The placard will be used during the next two days of the role-play activity.

8. Distribute Handout #5 to all students in the class. Ask a student or students to read the proposals aloud. You may wish to ask students playing the role of the U.S. diplomat to read Proposal One and students playing the role of the Chinese journalist to read Proposal Two.

9. Assign an area of the room to each of the four delegations (1) United States, (2) Pan-Asia, (3) Japan, (4) Germany, and ask students to move

quietly to the area that corresponds with the title of their delegation found at the top of their Character Information Sheets.

10. After students have gathered in their groups, ask them to discuss the Group Questions on Handout #4 with their delegation.

11. Distribute Handout #6: *Homework,* and ask students to complete the assignment for the next class.

## Part Two (Conference Day One)

In Part Two, students will participate in a conference role-play activity in small groups and as a whole class.

1. Before engaging in the conference, establish some ground rules for the role-play and provide a few caveats. Read the following guidelines aloud.

   - The purpose of this role-play is for you to understand various perspectives on the issue, perspectives that may differ from your own. By playing a certain role, you are not necessarily agreeing with that position. This means that while you are encouraged to "get into" your part, everyone needs to recognize that these are not necessarily the opinions of their peers, but only a part that they are playing. Do not make any personal derogatory statements.

   - All of the characters in the role-play are meant to be representatives of some possible backgrounds and actual people involved in dealing with the issue of war grievances. Of course, these opinions are only generalizations. The actual range of positions on the issue varies considerably from person to person. Thus, it is not the case that every American scholar agrees that Japan should apologize to its Asian neighbors, nor do all Japanese politicians agree that Japan has sufficiently apologized.

   - Part of the goal of this role-play is to put you in a situation of conflict. This issue has been chosen precisely because it is so contentious. You should not be afraid to have disagreements. It is vital to the process, however, that your opinions be expressed with the utmost respect towards the other participants. It is suggested that students address one another as "The Honorable Delegate from (country name)" during the role-play exercise.

2. Using Transparency #1: *Conference Agenda,* review the order of the conference with the students.

3. Ask students to meet with their delegations in the areas of the classroom that were assigned to them during the previous class session.

4. Have each delegation prepare a 3–5 minute opening statement. Instructions are listed under the Group Task on Handout #4. Students should refer to their responses to Handout #6: *Homework,* when writing the opening statement.


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5. Ask the class to take out notebook paper and take notes during the opening statement presentations. Ask one representative from each delegation to come before the class to read the delegation's opening statement. Students should remain seated in their respective delegations during the presentations.

6. Following the Opening Statements, ask students to meet with their delegations to discuss the following questions.

NOTE: You may wish to write these questions on the board before class.

- Which delegations agree with our position? Which do not?
- Is our delegation willing to compromise in any areas?
- Is there any way to make a proposal that would be agreeable to multiple delegations? What issues can we agree upon given the limited time available? What issues should be tabled for future discussion?

## Part Three (Conference Day Two)

Part Three continues the role-play exercise from the previous class.

1. Display Transparency #1: *Conference Agenda*, and review the day's schedule with the class.

2. Moderate a class discussion by proposing the following questions:

   Regarding disputes within each delegation:

   - In which delegations is there disagreement on how to resolve the issues? Why? Is it possible to eliminate disagreement within your delegation?

   Regarding disputes among delegations:

   - What points do the delegations agree on?
   - What points do the delegations disagree on?
   - Is there any way to reach a consensus on how to resolve these issues? Could proposals be combined to accommodate a variety of opinions?

3. Encourage the class to reach a conclusion through consensus. The teacher's role in this process is to push toward consensus by summarizing the points on which there seems to be agreement and confirming them with the class (e.g., "I'm hearing several delegates state that 'X' should happen. Is there agreement on this?"). If students feel that consensus is impossible at this point, discuss why this is the case and how steps might be taken to reach an agreement in the future.

4. After discussing the issues for 10–15 minutes, adjourn the conference. Debrief with the following questions:

- Did your opinion about reparations change during the proceedings?
- Which arguments seemed most persuasive? What characteristics made them more persuasive?
- Do you think that in reality a compromise is possible? Explain why or why not.
- Can you think of other examples of similar conflicts in international relations? What makes them similar to this case?
- What do you think should constitute an apology in an international context?
- In five or ten years, most of the victims of aggression during World War II will have already passed away. What are some of the issues facing people in your generation whom were not directly responsible for waging the war?

5. At the end of class, inform students that in the next lesson, they will be analyzing comments by U.S. Secretary of State, Colin Powell, and Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, Makiko Tanaka.

6. Distribute copies of the following Lesson Four handouts and assign the students to read the handouts and respond to the questions on Handout #3 as homework for the following class session:

   - Distribute Handout #1: *Remarks by U.S. Secretary of State, Colin Powell* to half of the class.
   - Distribute a copy of Handout #2: *Remarks by Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, Makiko Tanaka* to the remaining half of the class.
   - Distribute a copy of Handout #3: *Guiding Questions* to each student in the class and ask the students to prepare responses to the questions under the heading for the speech they read.


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# BACKGROUND ON THE REPARATIONS CLAUSE OF THE SAN FRANCISCO PEACE TREATY

## Part One: Cold War Politics and Reparations

**reparations**— Compensation demanded of a defeated nation for damage or injury in a war.

The United States played the leading role in drafting the San Francisco Peace Treaty. U.S. documents dating from the early Cold War explicitly state that U.S. interests in Asia depended on the success of the Japanese economy and Japan's strength as a strategic U.S. ally in East Asia. Because the burden of reparations might harm the Japanese economy, the United States argued that Japan should not be required to pay excessive amounts of reparations to the Allied nations that had fought against Japan during World War II.

**Treaty of Versailles**— a treaty signed in 1919; formally established Germany's war guilt and ordered it to pay reparations to the Allies.

The United States based its argument on the historical example of the Treaty of Versailles between Germany and the Allied forces at the close of World War I. While drafting the San Francisco Peace Treaty, experts in the United States State Department argued that the harshness of the Treaty of Versailles caused undue suffering among the German people, ultimately leading to Nazism and war. A confidential State Department brief on reparations provided to the U.S. delegates to the San Francisco Peace Treaty Conference states:

> Under it [the Treaty of Versailles] reparations claims destroyed German credit and will to work...The treaty and all the efforts to enforce it produced no appreciable reparations, but did create grave divisions as between the principle Allies and set in motion inflationary forces, first in Germany, and then on a world-wide scale which many observers believe were largely responsible for the tragic economic collapse which began in 1929 and lasted until World War II.[i]

**National Security Council**— a group of advisers that assists the U.S. President on national security and foreign policy matters.

The United States also argued that friendship with Japan was essential to the stability and security of East Asia. By the late 1940s, the United States had come to view Japan as its primary ally in the Far East. In May 1949, the National Security Council adopted NSC 13/3, which abandoned any future attempts to seek reparations from Japan. The U.S. position on reparations became increasingly apparent as it drafted the San Francisco Peace Treaty. A State Department brief on reparations states:

**Onerous**—troublesome or oppressive, burdensome.

> It is contradictory and self-defeating to exact onerous reparations from a population that we must win to our side in the global struggle against the immediate threat of communist imperialism.[ii]

**Conciliatory**— accommodating, agreeable.

Influenced by historical memory and the threat of communism, the United States proposed a more conciliatory approach toward peace with the Japanese government. After a long period of diplomatic negotiations with its wartime allies and with Japan, the United States reached the

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[i] State Department Confidential Briefing Document for U.S. Delegation to Conference for Conclusion and Signature of Treaty of Peace with Japan, September, 1951.

[ii] Ibid.

conclusion that Japan should not be required to pay reparations. In a classified position paper addressed to the U.S. representatives to the Peace Treaty Conference, the U.S. State Department took the following position. Take special notice of the underlined sections.

> The United States, having a special responsibility in relation to postwar Japan, and having extended approximately two billion dollars during the past five years for the support of a minimum Japanese economy, must consider the reparations problem not only from the side of justice but also from the point of view of Japan's capacity to pay reparations while preserving a stable society and moving toward self-support. In May, 1949, when it had become apparent that continued capital reparations would jeopardize these goals, and, incidentally, that effective use was not being made of a large proportion of the assets already transferred, the United States was compelled to terminate the (reparations) program. In the treaty negotiations just completed the United States has equally been compelled to insist that the only forms of reparations Japan can practicably pay are those permitted under Article 14(a)1 of the treaty, based on the Italian reparations provisions, namely, the processing into consumer and capital goods by Japanese surplus industrial plant and labor of raw materials furnished by the claimant countries and the performance of specialized services in the claimant countries by Japanese technicians. While it is not expected that vast economic benefits will accrue to the devastated countries under this plan, it does give some moral satisfaction to the people of these countries and provides the possibility of economic help from Japan out of the only assets Japan has in surplus, an industrially skilled population and an industrial capacity in excess of available raw materials.[iii]

The San Francisco Peace Treaty addresses the issue of reparations in Chapter V, Article 14, "Claims and Property." A portion of the clause is stated below. Take special note of the underlined sections.

> (a) It is recognized that Japan should pay reparations to the Allied Powers for the damage and suffering caused by it during the war. Nevertheless, it is also recognized that the resources of Japan are not presently sufficient, if it is to maintain a viable economy, to make complete reparation for all such damage and suffering and at the same time meet its other obligations.
>
> Therefore,
> 1. Japan will promptly enter into negotiations with Allied Powers so desiring, whose present territories were occupied by Japanese forces and damaged by Japan, with a view to assisting to compensate those countries for the cost of repairing the damage done, by making available the services of the Japanese people in production, salvaging and other work for the Allied Powers in question...
>
> (b) Except as otherwise provided in the present Treaty, the Allied Powers waive all reparations claims of the Allied Powers, other claims of the Allied Powers and their nationals arising out of any actions taken by Japan and its nationals in the course of the prosecution of the war, and claims of the Allied Powers for direct military costs of occupation.

[iii] "Reparations." Delegation of the United States of America to the Conference for the Conclusion and Signature of Peace with Japan, San Francisco, September, 1951.


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## Part Two: Contemporary Issues and the Legacy of the San Francisco Peace Treaty

**"comfort women"**— Women who were restrained for a certain period with no rights, under the control of the Japanese military, and forced to engage in sexual activity with Japanese military personnel[iv]

During World War II, as many as 200,000 women from Korea, Taiwan, China, the Philippines, Malaysia, Burma, Indonesia, Australia, the Netherlands, and some Japanese women were forced to engage in sexual activity with Japanese military personnel as "comfort women." Other Asian civilians as well as Allied Prisoners of War (POWs) became victims of rape, starvation, medical experimentation, and/or forced labor. Today, this legacy continues to linger in the minds of Japan's wartime victims.

In recent years, a heated debate has ignited in the United States over the issue of reparations for the victims of Japanese wartime atrocities. Chinese Americans, former POWs, legislators, scholars, and concerned citizen groups have launched an effort to reevaluate the rights of war victims to compensation from the Japanese government and Japanese corporations.

**Japanese-American Internment**— During World War II, Japanese Americans living on the West Coast were forced to move to "relocation camps" established by the U.S. government.

Japanese Americans interned by the United States government during World War II received reparations from the federal government beginning in 1990, following a redress movement and legal battles that began in the early 1970s. This successful grassroots movement inspired some of the current initiatives to seek reparations from Japan for its wartime atrocities in Asia. In 1999, the California State Assembly approved two measures that facilitated the current reparations movement. The first resolution called for Japan to offer reparations to individual victims of wartime atrocities; the second declared a law to extend the statute of limitations on Japanese war crimes. Under the new California law, war crimes and acts committed by the former Japanese Imperial Army during World War II are legally viewed in the same category as those committed by the Nazis in Europe.

**redress**— payment, restitution

**statute of limitations**—A statute assigning a certain time after which rights cannot be enforced by legal action or offenses cannot be punished.

**Bataan Death March**— In April 1942, the Japanese captured 76,000 U.S. and Filipino Prisoners of War on Bataan Peninsula in the Philippines and force-marched them for 65 miles in the blazing sun. About 7,000 POWs died from exhaustion or illness, were buried alive, or were shot.

Activist movements and state government initiatives have spurred great interest in the issues of reparations and formal apologies. According to *The Washington Post*, in September 1999, roughly 500 American and Filipino survivors of the 1942 Bataan Death March filed a joint lawsuit against five Japanese companies for wartime enslavement. Other groups quickly followed the same path, filing class action lawsuits against Japanese corporations and calling upon the Japanese government to formally apologize and offer reparations.

**class action lawsuits**— legal actions undertaken by one or more plaintiffs on behalf of themselves and all other persons having an identical interest in the alleged wrong.

The Japanese government and the accused Japanese corporations have responded to the lawsuits and demands for reparations by referring to the San Francisco Peace Treaty. As explained in Part One of this handout, the treaty's signatories agreed that Japan did not have the economic resources to pay reparations. Moreover, under Chapter V, Article 14, the Allied Powers waived their right to demand additional reparations from the Japanese government. On this point, the government of Japan maintains that rights and claims of individuals are within the scope of relevant peace treaties, and that the signatories of these treaties waived

[iv] Yoshimi, Yoshiaki. *Comfort Women: Sexual Slavery in the Japanese Military During World War II*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000, p. 39.

the rights of their nationals to file future claims against the Japanese or Japanese entities. The United States government officially supports the Japanese position in this matter.

Additionally, the Japanese government has explained that Japan did, in fact, pay reparations to Asian nations that had suffered under Japanese occupation. Under the "Claims and Property" clause of the San Francisco Peace Treaty, Japan was required to begin negotiations with countries that were occupied by Japanese forces to discuss the ways in which it would compensate for damages during the war. Following the signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty, Japan signed several reparation agreements and provided grants and indemnities to many of the Allied Powers. It is important to note that payments were not made directly to individuals, but rather to *states* that in turn allocated the funds at their own discretion. Below, Ishikawa Yoshimi of the Institute for Socioeconomic Infrastructure and Services, Inc. responds to criticism that Japan has not paid sufficient reparations.

**indemnities**— Compensation or reimbursement for damages

> Germany paid individuals, taking the trouble to seek them out. This means that the money went directly to the people affected. America did the same when it compensated Japanese Americans, searching out even those who had been incarcerated in Canadian concentration camps. Since the $20,000 checks were actually delivered directly to Japanese Americans, they had a tangible sense of having received an apology.
>
> For Indonesians, though, Japan's payment of reparations to the new state of Indonesia created after independence from the Netherlands has far from produced a corresponding sense of restitution. The same can be said of South Korea. Japan paid massive reparations, which President Park Chung-hee used to build steelworks at P'ohang and elsewhere. Thus the steel industry was born and the foundation of South Korea as a modern state laid. From the perspective of South Koreans at the time, though, the reparations went not to them but to Park and to steel companies.

**restitution**— compensation, amends

The case of reparation payments to North and South Korea is particularly complex. Korea was annexed to the empire of Japan in 1910. Thus, the government of Japan holds that it was not in a position to pay reparations to Korea because the two countries were never officially "at war" with one another. Following the war, independence was restored to Korea, yet it was not invited to participate in the Peace Treaty Conference since it had never declared war on Japan, though it had been occupied by Japan for more than 30 years. Currently, the Japanese government argues that reparations have never been paid to Korea because they were not at war. Rather, Japan maintains that the "massive reparations" mentioned above by Ishikawa was actually "economic aid" to Korea that was provided by Japan after relations were normalized between the two countries in 1965.

This presents several complex questions: Should countries that held colonies in the early 20th century be required to compensate for damages that occurred under colonial rule? Who, if anyone, should receive compensation and how much should they receive? Should younger generations be held responsible for the acts of their predecessors?


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# GUIDING QUESTIONS

Answer the following questions in response to Handout #1.

1. Why did the United States decide not to demand reparations from the Japanese government through the Peace Treaty? What role did the Cold War play in this decision?

2. If you were attending the Peace Treaty Conference as a delegate from an Asian nation that had been occupied by Japan during the war, how might you have reacted to this issue? What factors would have affected your decision to sign or not to sign the treaty?

3. If North and South Korea had been represented at the San Francisco Peace Treaty Conference, what position might they have taken toward the issue of reparations? How might they have responded toward the idea of a peace treaty in general?

4. Why are American Prisoners of War and Asian civilians seeking reparations from Japan?

5. How has Japan reacted to the demands of groups seeking reparations and an apology? What is the official U.S. position on this matter?

6. What actions has Germany taken to pay reparations and apologize to victims of World War II atrocities? Do you think that the situation involving Japan is different? Why?

7. Reread the "Claims and Property" clause of the peace treaty. If you were an attorney, how would you interpret it?

# Reparations and Apologies: History at a Glance

| | |
|---|---|
| 1910 | Japan formally annexes Korea. Korea loses its independence and becomes a part of the empire of Japan. |
| 1937 | Outbreak of fighting between China and Japan |
| | "Rape of Nanking"—Japanese troops attack Nanking (Nanjing), China, raping thousands of women and killing civilians, including the elderly, women, and children. Casualty estimates vary by source. One estimate states that 20,000 women were raped, 42,000 civilians were killed in the city, and another 100,000 civilians and prisoners of war were killed in the surrounding areas.[v] Another estimate states that between 150,000–300,000 civilians and prisoners of war perished at the hands of the Japanese army in Nanking and surrounding areas.[vi] |
| 1937–1945 | Japan captures the Philippines, Malaya, the Dutch East Indies, Singapore, Burma, Guam, Wake Island, the Solomons, the Gilberts, the Marianas, and New Guinea. Local populations in these occupied territories face shortages of food and other basic needs. Males are coerced into forced labor in Southeast Asia, and tens of thousands of women are "recruited" to become "comfort women" for Japanese soldiers. |
| 1941 | Japan attacks Pearl Harbor; World War II in the Pacific begins. |
| 1945 | United States carries out incendiary raids on Tokyo, killing or injuring over 100,000 people and leaving millions homeless. |
| | United States invades Okinawa, Japan. Between 100,000 and 150,000 Okinawans lose their lives in the fighting. |
| | United States drops atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, killing more than 115,000 people and possibly as many as 250,000, and injuring at least 100,000.[vii] |
| | World War II ends. Japan's former colonies and occupied territories are liberated. |
| 1946 | International Military Tribunal for the Far East (Tokyo War Crimes Trials) |
| 1949 | United States Security Council adopts NSC 13/3, abandoning future attempts to seek reparations from Japan. |
| 1951–1959 | Peace Treaty is signed in San Francisco; China, Taiwan, North and South Korea, India, and Burma do not attend. |

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[v] Duus, Peter. *Modern Japan*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1998, pp. 222.

[vi] *Rape of Nanking Redress Coalition*. http://www.RNRC.org.

[vii] Bernstein, Barton. "The Atomic Bombings Reconsidered." *Foreign Affairs* (January–February, 1995): 135–152.


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| | |
|---|---|
| 1951–1959 (continued) | Japan signs a peace treaty with Taiwan. |
| | Japan signs reparations agreements with Burma and the Philippines; also signs a peace treaty and reparations agreement with Indonesia. |
| | A reparations agreement and a loan agreement are signed between Japan and South Vietnam. |
| 1965 | Japanese Foreign Minister Shiina Etsusaburo visits South Korea and expresses his regrets for Japan's past actions. |
| 1982–1989 | China and South Korea protest revisions of Japanese history textbooks. |
| | Japanese wartime Emperor Hirohito expresses his "deep regret for the countries' unfortunate past" at an official banquet for South Korean President Chun Doo Hwan. |
| | Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone Yasuhiro makes an official visit to the Yasukuni Shrine (Shinto shrine for the Japanese war dead) on the anniversary of the end of World War II. China, Korea, and other Asian countries protest vehemently. |
| | Japanese Minister of Education, Fujio Masayuki, is removed from office for publishing a statement justifying Japan's annexation of Korea. |
| | Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone visits South Korea and offers apology. |
| 1990–2001 | Japanese Emperor Akihito expresses his "feeling the deepest regret" to South Korean President Roh Tae Woo. |
| | Japanese Prime Minister Hosokawa Morihiro states that "the last war was a war of (Japanese) aggression." |
| | Japanese Prime Minister Murayama Tomiichi releases statement apologizing for Japan's invasion of Asia. |
| | New middle-school history textbook is published and approved by the Japanese Ministry of Education. Asian nations react in protest. |
| | California State Legislature passes resolution to a) request that Japan offer reparations to individual victims of wartime atrocities and b) extend the statute of limitations on Japanese war crimes. |

**Civilian and Military Deaths in Asia Related to Japanese Violence (1937–1945)**

China: 10 million
Indonesia: 4 million
French Indochina: 200,000 (deaths caused by starvation during 1944-45)
Burma: 150,000
Malaysia and Singapore: 100,000
Philippines: 1,111,936
Korea: 20,000
Source: *Koukou Nihonshi A (High School Japanese History: A).* Tokyo, Japan: Jikkyou Shuppan, 1998.

**Reparations Paid by Japan: 1945–2001**

2.8 billion U.S. dollars of renounced assets at the end of World War II

946 billion Japanese yen paid to Asian countries

Source: Umezu Itaru, "Japan Has Faced Its Past." *Far Eastern Economic Review* (August 10, 2000). For a detailed breakdown of these figures, see appendices.

# AN INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

In this simulation, you will play the role of a delegate to an international conference on resolving issues regarding World War II in the Pacific and contemporary grievances. Seven countries have sent delegates to the conference: United States, Japan, China, Indonesia, South Korea, the Philippines, and Germany. In this exercise, China, Indonesia, South Korea, and the Philippines will comprise the Pan-Asia delegation.

Two proposals are currently on the table for discussion. The objective of this conference is to discuss the merits and drawbacks of each proposal and to decide through consensus which proposal (or parts of proposals) to approve.

**It is not necessary to accept either proposal in its entirety. Rather, the group can choose to accept a proposal in part or combine aspects of both proposals.**

## Group Questions

After reading the proposals on Handout #5, discuss the following questions.

1. Are the proposals in accordance with international law as expressed in the San Francisco Peace Treaty? Which of the proposals do you think has the most solid legal foundation? Explain your legal reasoning.
2. What effects would each proposal have upon the current international political arena?
3. What are the humanitarian and economic implications of each proposal?
4. Which proposal is most politically workable? Explain.
5. Besides those listed, can you think of other feasible solutions to the issue?

## Group Task

Prepare an opening statement for the international conference on war grievances. Your opening statement should address all of the viewpoints represented in your delegation. It should also include your delegation's response to each proposal. Choose a representative to read your delegation's opening statement at the conference. The opening statement should be a maximum of 5 minutes in length.

## PROPOSAL ONE

**Proposed By** Diplomat, United States of America

**Proposal**

Following World War II, Japan was economically devastated and lacked the means to provide extensive reparations to the Allied Powers.

Under the San Francisco Peace Treaty, Chapter V, Article 14, the Allies explicitly relinquished all rights to demand further reparations from the government of Japan and its nationals. Thus, Japan cannot be required by law to pay further reparations to individual victims of World War II in Asia.

Accordingly, I propose that the international community continue to enforce Chapter V, Article 14 of the San Francisco Peace Treaty in full compliance with international law.

## PROPOSAL TWO

**Proposed By** Journalist, China

**Proposal**

Japan should offer an official apology and pay reparations to victims of Japanese aggression in Asia. Thus, I propose the signature of an official statement to the government of Japan that includes the following demands:

1. Issue an official apology to the nations of Asia, specifically stating the types of atrocities committed in China and other Asian countries during World War II in Asia. This apology shall be approved by the Japanese National Diet through the legislative process.

2. Provide compensation to a) all identified deceased and surviving victims or their surviving family members, and b) victims whose properties were looted and/or destroyed. Victims shall also include former Allied Prisoners of War (POWs) who were forced to perform slave labor.

3. Mandate inclusion at all levels of schooling in Japan, education about the World War II and Japan's related war crime issues.

# HOMEWORK

Respond to the following questions. Be sure to refer to Handouts #1–#5 as well as your Character Information Sheet.

1. What is your character's position on the issues presented in Proposals One and Two? Which proposal (or part(s) of the proposal) will your character support and why?

2. What is the position of the other members in your delegation? Do they seem to agree or disagree with your character? What issues are of the most concern?

3. Which proposal do you think the other delegations will support? Why? Fill in the spaces below.

   United States:

   Pan-Asia:

   Japan:

   Germany:

4. Based on your predictions in Question #3, how will your character respond to the other delegations?

   United States:

   Pan-Asia:

   Japan:

   Germany:


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## Conference Agenda

**Day One**

1. Prepare opening statements (15 minutes)
2. Present opening statements (5 minutes each)
3. Conduct discussion in delegations (20 minutes)
4. Adjournment

**Day Two**

1. Conduct discussion (20 minutes)
2. Reach decision (10 minutes)
3. Adjournment
4. Debrief (20 minutes)

## character information sheet #1

### UNITED STATES DELEGATION

Occupation: Policy Research Scholar

Student Name:

**General Instructions**

You have been selected to join the United States delegation to an international conference on war grievance issues. Each delegate to the conference has agreed to abide by the final decision of the conference and its interpretation of international law.

Currently, there are two proposals on the table for discussion at the conference. Naturally, you will attempt to influence proceedings so that the outcome is both in your best interests and the long-term interests of the United States. As you argue for a specific proposal or parts of a proposal, be aware that offending other delegates to the conference could backfire on you. Diplomacy and courtesy are invaluable to your success at the conference.

**Character Background**

You are a scholar at a major university, and you have been closely following issues surrounding the San Francisco Peace Treaty. In 2001, you published an article in *The Los Angeles Times* stating the following:

"Relying on the San Francisco Peace Treaty is not a good defense against the current lawsuits being filed against Japan for war crimes committed during World War II. The Japanese government would be wise to take these suits as an opportunity to deal with some of the unfinished business of World War II. Thanks to the Cold War, Japan enjoyed a long period in which the United States blocked all private claims against it. Today, most of the plaintiffs in these claims are very elderly. It would be easy for Japan to pay them."

"The United States required that Japan pay only minimal reparations after the war because it was trying to integrate Japan into America's Cold War structure. Also, the reparations that Japan did pay went primarily to corrupt dictators in places like the Philippines, Indonesia and Burma, not to individuals who had truly suffered at Japan's hands."

**Character Notes**

# UNITED STATES DELEGATION

Occupation: Diplomat

Student Name:

## General Instructions

You have been selected to join the United States delegation to an international conference on war grievance issues. Each delegate to the conference has agreed to abide by the final decision of the conference and its interpretation of international law.

Currently, there are two proposals on the table for discussion at the conference. Naturally, you will attempt to influence proceedings so that the outcome is both in your best interests and the long-term interests of the United States. As you argue for a specific proposal or parts of a proposal, be aware that offending other delegates to the conference could backfire on you. Diplomacy and courtesy are invaluable to your success at the conference.

## Character Background

As an official representative of the United States government, your job is to support and enforce treaties signed between the United States and foreign nations. Thus, you argue that upon signing the San Francisco Peace Treaty, the Allied Powers waived their rights to pursue further reparations from the Japanese government. To seek reparations at this time would contradict and possibly invalidate the agreement between Japan and the Allies.

Although you empathize with the plight of former Allied Prisoners of War (POWs) who are now seeking reparations for their wartime experiences as slave laborers for Japan, you also believe that claims against Japan at this time are not feasible from a legal perspective. Given that many POWs received compensation through the War Claims Act of 1948, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to support POW claims against the Japanese government or Japanese corporations.

## Character Notes

_____

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## character information sheet #3

### UNITED STATES DELEGATION

Occupation: Attorney

Student Name:

**General Instructions**

You have been selected to join the United States delegation to an international conference on war grievance issues. Each delegate to the conference has agreed to abide by the final decision of the conference and its interpretation of international law.

Currently, there are two proposals on the table for discussion at the conference. Naturally, you will attempt to influence proceedings so that the outcome is both in your best interests and the long-term interests of the United States. As you argue for a specific proposal or parts of a proposal, be aware that offending other delegates to the conference could backfire on you. Diplomacy and courtesy are invaluable to your success at the conference.

**Character Background**

As an attorney, it is your job to interpret legal documents. You believe that under Chapter V, Article 14 of the San Francisco Peace Treaty, the Allied signatories waived their rights to demand further reparations from Japan.

Accordingly, you disagree with the 1999 California state law that allows former Allied Prisoners of War (POWs) to file suit in California courts against Japanese companies that used them as forced labor during World War II. Referring to Chapter V, Article 14 of the Peace Treaty, you argue that "Japan and its nationals" includes Japanese corporations. Thus, lawsuits related to World War II reparations should not be permitted against the nation of Japan or Japanese businesses.

Moreover, you think this law contradicts the United States Constitution. Because the United States signed the San Francisco Peace Treaty as a nation, legislation in one state alone, in this case California, should not supercede the agreements made between the United States and foreign powers.

**Character Notes**

## character information sheet #4

# UNITED STATES DELEGATION

Occupation: California State Assembly Member

Student Name:

**General Instructions**

You have been selected to join the United States delegation to an international conference on war grievance issues. Each delegate to the conference has agreed to abide by the final decision of the conference and its interpretation of international law.

Currently, there are two proposals on the table for discussion at the conference. Naturally, you will attempt to influence proceedings so that the outcome is both in your best interests and the long-term interests of the United States. As you argue for a specific proposal or parts of a proposal, be aware that offending other delegates to the conference could backfire on you. Diplomacy and courtesy are invaluable to your success at the conference.

**Character Background**

You are a member of the California State Assembly who voted in favor of Assembly Joint Resolution 27 (AJR 27), calling on Japan to pay reparations to "United States military and civilian prisoners of war…the survivors of the 'Rape of Nanking'…and the women who were forced into sexual slavery and known by the Japanese military as 'comfort women.'"

You believe that this resolution serves the purpose of educating people about what happened during World War II in Asia, and you want to see this resolution extend beyond the State of California to a broader international community.

You argue that Japan's acceptance of responsibility for atrocities during World War II could be resolved with a clear and unambiguous apology approved by the National Diet of Japan. You also think that reparations could be easily resolved through an offer of settlement of individual claims by the Japanese government.

Though you are hesitant to draw any comparisons between Japan's war crimes and Germany's war crimes, you believe that Germany provides a clear example for Japan to follow. Though Germany has been criticized, you feel that it has made a good faith effort to accept responsibility. And, though administering a reparations program is an enormously complex undertaking, Germany has proven that it is possible.

**Character Notes**

## character information sheet #5

### PAN-ASIAN DELEGATION

Occupation: Human Rights Attorney

Country: Indonesia

Student Name:

**General Instructions**

You have been selected to join the Pan-Asian delegation to an international conference on war grievance issues. Each delegate to the conference has agreed to abide by the final decision of the conference and its interpretation of international law.

Currently, there are two proposals on the table for discussion at the conference. Naturally, you will attempt to influence proceedings so that the outcome is both in your best interests and the long-term interests of Indonesia and the rest of Asia. As you argue for a specific proposal or parts of a proposal, be aware that offending other delegates to the conference could backfire on you. Diplomacy and courtesy are invaluable to your success at the conference.

**Character Background**

You are an attorney specializing in international humanitarian law. It is your experience in this field that, when a nation commits gross violations of human rights, the government of that nation should be required to investigate the abuses, prosecute those responsible, and provide reparations to all victims.

Consequently, you believe that international law argues in favor of Japan paying reparations to "comfort women," former Prisoners of War (POWs), and slave laborers.

Moreover, you think that the Japanese government's interpretation of the San Francisco Peace Treaty is incorrect under international law. Specifically, you interpret the treaty to only absolve Japan from claims brought by the Allied Powers—that is, government-to-government reparations and not claims brought by individuals. You also believe that, because Japan's interpretation is disputed, the treaty should not be accepted at face value and should be debated at a higher level such as the International Court of Justice.

**Character Notes**


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# PAN-ASIAN DELEGATION

Occupation: Journalist

Country: China

Student Name:

## General Instructions

You have been selected to join the Pan-Asian delegation to an international conference on war grievance issues. Each delegate to the conference has agreed to abide by the final decision of the conference and its interpretation of international law.

Currently, there are two proposals on the table for discussion at the conference. Naturally, you will attempt to influence proceedings so that the outcome is both in your best interests and the long-term interests of China and the rest of Asia. As you argue for a specific proposal or parts of a proposal, be aware that offending other delegates to the conference could backfire on you. Diplomacy and courtesy are invaluable to your success at the conference.

## Character Background

You are a journalist for the international desk of China's largest newspaper. Much of your work has been focused on the legacy of Japan's wartime atrocities in China. Your work leads you to believe that the issue of reparations has been neglected for too long, and that a call for Japanese accountability is overdue.

Specifically, you believe that Japan has a moral, if not legal, obligation under international law to formally apologize and pay reparations for its wartime atrocities. In your mind, Japan's continued insistence that the San Francisco Peace Treaty absolves it from any reparations claims does not address the more fundamental issue of Japan's moral responsibility.

In addition, you are disturbed by the Japanese government's refusal to issue a formal apology for its wartime actions despite clear evidence of gross human rights violations. To make matters worse, your contacts in Japan have informed you that Japanese conservatives may call for the whitewashing or altogether burying of this incident in history books. This makes it critical to demand accountability from Japan now.

## Character Notes

## character information sheet #7

### PAN-ASIAN DELEGATION

Occupation: History Professor

Country: China

Student Name:

**General Instructions**

You have been selected to join the Pan-Asian delegation to an international conference on war grievance issues. Each delegate to the conference has agreed to abide by the final decision of the conference and its interpretation of international law.

Currently, there are two proposals on the table for discussion at the conference. Naturally, you will attempt to influence proceedings so that the outcome is both in your best interests and the long-term interests of China and the rest of Asia. As you argue for a specific proposal or parts of a proposal, be aware that offending other delegates to the conference could backfire on you. Diplomacy and courtesy are invaluable to your success at the conference.

**Character Background**

You are a history professor from a major Chinese university who has spent the better part of the past few years researching World War II. From your perspective, Japan needs to take responsibility for its wartime actions in China—such as the Rape of Nanking incident—in the same manner as Germany did. Namely, Japan should offer reparations to the victims of atrocities caused by Japan's Imperial Army during World War II in Asia.

In your opinion, Japan's actions in China have often been overlooked throughout the past 50 years. You have seen, for example, that Communist officials have frequently prohibited protests against visiting Japanese statesmen to preserve healthy trade relations with Japan. A museum on the Nanking Massacre did not open until 1985, almost five decades after it occurred. Moreover, many women—Chinese and other Asians alike—have been encouraged to remain silent about their experiences as wartime "comfort women" to avoid shaming their families.

In China and elsewhere in Asia, the victims of Japanese atrocities are only growing older. You strongly believe that the Japanese government should do what is morally right: apologize and provide reparations to the victims of Japanese aggression in Asia.

**Character Notes**


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## character information sheet #8

# PAN-ASIAN DELEGATION

Occupation: Local Politician

Country: South Korea

Student Name:

### General Instructions

You have been selected to join the Pan-Asian delegation to an international conference on war grievance issues. Each delegate to the conference has agreed to abide by the final decision of the conference and its interpretation of international law.

Currently, there are two proposals on the table for discussion at the conference. Naturally, you will attempt to influence proceedings so that the outcome is both in your best interests and the long-term interests of South Korea and the rest of Asia. As you argue for a specific proposal or parts of a proposal, be aware that offending other delegates to the conference could backfire on you. Diplomacy and courtesy are invaluable to your success at the conference.

### Character Background

You are an elderly city council member in a small city in South Korea. You are one of many among the local elderly population that remembers Japan's occupation of Korea and the suffering of the Korean people under Japanese rule. More than 50 years ago, your elder brother was taken from his home by a Japanese firm to northern Japan where he was forced to dig coal in a mine to fuel Japan's war effort. After the war, you found out that your brother had contracted a severe illness and had died without receiving any medical treatment. The Japanese company that had conscripted him did not return your brother's body or even inform the family of his death.

You are now seeking compensation and an apology for your brother's death. Under a new California law, individuals are allowed to file compensation claims against Japanese corporations, for labor during World War II in Asia. You have approached several lawyers and activist groups in the United States, and you plan to join a class action lawsuit against several Japanese conglomerates that forced civilians and Prisoners of War (POWs) to labor in inhumane conditions during World War II. Although no amount of money could ever compensate for the loss of your brother, you hope that this will bring some sense of closure for you and other Koreans.

### Character Notes

## character information sheet #9

# PAN-ASIAN DELEGATION

Occupation: Farmer, Former Prisoner of War

Country: Philippines

Student Name:

**General Instructions**

You have been selected to join the Pan-Asian delegation to an international conference on war grievance issues. Each delegate to the conference has agreed to abide by the final decision of the conference and its interpretation of international law.

Currently, there are two proposals on the table for discussion at the conference. Naturally, you will attempt to influence proceedings so that the outcome is both in your best interests and the long-term interests of the Philippines and the rest of Asia. As you argue for a specific proposal or parts of a proposal, be aware that offending other delegates to the conference could backfire on you. Diplomacy and courtesy are invaluable to your success at the conference.

**Character Background**

For most of your life, you have been a humble farmer in a rural area of the Philippine Islands. During World War II, you fought to defend the Philippines against Japan. In 1942 you were taken Prisoner of War (POW) by the Japanese Imperial Army and forced to march across the Bataan Peninsula with tens of thousands of Filipino and American POWs in the infamous "Bataan Death March." During the grueling march, you witnessed the deaths of several thousand POWs, and you continue to feel the emotional scars of this experience even in your advanced age.

Recently, you learned that former POWs in the United States are in the process of filing lawsuits against Japanese companies that used them as slave laborers during the war. You have followed Japan's high economic growth, and you believe that the Japanese companies that benefited from POW labor now have a legal and moral obligation to compensate individual POWs. Accordingly, you plan to support similar compensation movements in the Philippines and elsewhere in Asia.

More than anything, however, you want to receive an apology from Japan for the cruel and inhumane treatment you experienced as a POW. Although you continue to harbor bad feelings for the Japanese, you feel that an official apology will help build better relations between Japan and the Philippines for future generations.

**Character Notes**


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## character information sheet #10

# JAPANESE DELEGATION

Occupation: Policy Research Scholar

Student Name:

**General Instructions**

You have been selected to join the Japanese delegation to an international conference on war grievance issues. Each delegate to the conference has agreed to abide by the final decision of the conference and its interpretation of international law.

Currently, there are two proposals on the table for discussion at the conference. Naturally, you will attempt to influence proceedings so that the outcome is both in your best interests and the long-term interests of Japan. As you argue for a specific proposal or parts of a proposal, be aware that offending other delegates to the conference could backfire on you. Diplomacy and courtesy are invaluable to your success at the conference.

**Character Background**

For the past several years, you have been studying issues related to recent demands for reparations by individual victims of Japan's aggression in Asia during World War II. Your research has led you to believe that Japan has not dodged its responsibility for its actions during the war. In fact, you have found that Japan began negotiations for reparations in 1951, following the signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty. The first reparations agreement signed by Japan was with the government of Burma (Myanmar) in 1955 and in 1963. Further agreements were signed with the Philippines (1956), Indonesia (1958), Vietnam (1960), Singapore (1967), Korea (1965), and several other nations. Japan also bore a large part of the cost of the Allied Occupation of Japan between 1945 and 1952. Under these agreements, Japan paid billions of yen to foreign governments, most of which chose to use the funds for projects to further national economic development.

In addition, you have learned that Japan has provided trillions of yen in overseas development aid to China and other Asian nations. You feel that it is unfortunate that the Chinese and other foreign governments have made little effort to inform the public that Japan has been the greatest donor of foreign aid to Asian countries. Japan has constructed a large number of facilities and public infrastructure projects that contribute to the welfare of the very people who are now seeking reparations from Japan.

**Character Notes**

## character information sheet #11

# JAPANESE DELEGATION

Occupation: Diplomat

Student Name:

**General Instructions**

You have been selected to join the Japanese delegation to an international conference on war grievance issues. Each delegate to the conference has agreed to abide by the final decision of the conference and its interpretation of international law.

Currently, there are two proposals on the table for discussion at the conference. Naturally, you will attempt to influence proceedings so that the outcome is both in your best interests and the long-term interests of Japan and the rest of Asia. As you argue for a specific proposal or parts of a proposal, be aware that offending other delegates to the conference could backfire on you. Diplomacy and courtesy are invaluable to your success at the conference.

**Character Background**

You are currently representing the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs in an overseas post in East Asia. You were recently asked to officially respond to public demands for reparations and an apology for Japan's wartime behavior in the Asia-Pacific region. Part of your statement reads as follows:

"It has been repeatedly asserted by several reporters and critics that Japan has neither sincerely apologized for its wartime actions nor offered any substantial reparations or compensation. In fact, Japan has clearly and repeatedly expressed its sincere remorse and apologies, and has dealt sincerely with reparations issues."

"These apologies were irrefutably expressed, in particular in Japanese Prime Minister Murayama's official statement in 1995, which was based on a cabinet decision and which has subsequently been upheld by successive prime ministers...Mr. Murayama said that Japan, 'through its colonial rule and aggression, caused tremendous damage and suffering to the people of many countries, particularly to those of Asian nations. In the hope that no such mistake be made in the future, I regard, in a spirit of humility, these irrefutable facts of history, and express here once again my feelings of deep remorse and state of my heartfelt apology.'"

**Character Notes**


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## character information sheet #12

# JAPANESE DELEGATION

Occupation: Politician

Student Name:

### General Instructions

You have been selected to join the Japanese delegation to an international conference on war grievance issues. Each delegate to the conference has agreed to abide by the final decision of the conference and its interpretation of international law.

Currently, there are two proposals on the table for discussion at the conference. Naturally, you will attempt to influence proceedings so that the outcome is both in your best interests and the long-term interests of Japan. As you argue for a specific proposal or parts of a proposal, be aware that offending other delegates to the conference could backfire on you. Diplomacy and courtesy are invaluable to your success at the conference.

### Character Background

You are a representative to the National Diet, Japan's legislative body. Recently, you have returned from an overseas trip to the United States where you met with business and political leaders. While visiting California, you learned more about the state legislation that will permit individuals to file lawsuits against Japanese corporations for wartime actions.

These lawsuits are especially troubling to you since you draw much of your support from the large corporations that are the targets of the lawsuits. Moreover, you feel that Japan has already paid sufficient reparations arising from events related to the war. You think that the San Francisco Peace Treaty and other bilateral treaties dealt with these issues in an appropriate manner. You understand that, in accordance with these treaties, Japan renounced its assets abroad—estimated to have totaled 2.8 billion U.S. dollars at the end of the war—leaving them in the hands of the countries concerned. Furthermore, Japan provided nearly 946 billion yen to a number of Asian countries, including the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, and Korea, in reparations and other payments. The majority of these payments were made during the 1950s and 1960s, the monies offered being the most Japan could afford given the economic and financial constraints of the day.

You believe that to improve relations between Japan and Asia, the governments of the countries that received reparations from Japan should educate their citizens about Japan's significant financial contributions.

### Character Notes

## character information sheet #13

# JAPANESE DELEGATION

Occupation: Barber, Former Soldier in the Japanese Imperial Army

Student Name:

**General Instructions**

You have been selected to join the Japanese delegation to an international conference on war grievance issues. Each delegate to the conference has agreed to abide by the final decision of the conference and its interpretation of international law.

Currently, there are two proposals on the table for discussion at the conference. Naturally, you will attempt to influence proceedings so that the outcome is both in your best interests and the long-term interests of Japan. As you argue for a specific proposal or parts of a proposal, be aware that offending other delegates to the conference could backfire on you. Diplomacy and courtesy are invaluable to your success at the conference.

**Character Background**

You are a retired barbershop owner living in a rural area near Tokyo. During World War II, you served as a soldier in the Japanese Imperial Army in Manchuria (northeastern China). Today, the memories of the war continue to haunt you. You are deeply troubled that young people growing up today will never know the truth about what happened during the war in Asia. Nevertheless, you feel that your story is nothing to be proud of, and you have rarely spoken about your wartime experiences with your wife or family.

During the war, you did some terrible things that you have never forgotten. At the same time, you feel that you had to endure many awful experiences as a low-ranking soldier. Now, you are fervently opposed to war in any form. You believe that Japan should do a better job of educating its young people about the devastation caused by Japanese militarism in Asia. You also feel that the Japanese government should do more to apologize to the victims of wartime atrocities and offer compensation to individual victims, especially the "comfort women" that served in military "comfort stations."

**Character Notes**


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## character information sheet #14

# GERMAN DELEGATION

Occupation: Corporate Executive

Student Name:

**General Instructions**

You have been selected to join the German delegation to an international conference on war grievance issues. Each delegate to the conference has agreed to abide by the final decision of the conference and its interpretation of international law.

Currently, there are two proposals on the table for discussion at the conference. Naturally, you will attempt to influence proceedings so that the outcome is both in your best interests and the long-term interests of Germany. As you argue for a specific proposal or parts of a proposal, be aware that offending other delegates to the conference could backfire on you. Diplomacy and courtesy are invaluable to your success at the conference.

**Character Background**

You are the chief financial officer of a major German automobile parts manufacturer. You have played a significant role in establishing a joint German government–German industry humanitarian foundation entitled "Remembrance, Responsibility, and the Future" to resolve outstanding claims from the Holocaust era. Although you believe that the grievance issues between Japan and its Asian neighbors are different from those related to Germany and the Holocaust, you feel that the example provided by this foundation will be valuable to the delegates to this conference.

The foundation is a voluntary initiative on the part of German enterprises. German businesses are asked to contribute funds in reasonable amounts to the foundation to help former forced laborers still living today who, during the war, were forced to work under particularly harsh conditions, and other people who were victims of the Nazi regime.

You agree that one important precondition for releasing this money is that legal peace be created for the companies that have contributed to the foundation. In other words, these companies will be protected against lawsuits in the future. You believe that this foundation will work in the best interests of German corporations, the German government, and the victims of the Holocaust during World War II.

**Character Notes**

## character information sheet #15

### GERMAN DELEGATION

Occupation: Politician

Student Name:

**General Instructions**

You have been selected to join the German delegation to an international conference on war grievance issues. Each delegate to the conference has agreed to abide by the final decision of the conference and its interpretation of international law.

Currently, there are two proposals on the table for discussion at the conference. Naturally, you will attempt to influence proceedings so that the outcome is both in your best interests and the long-term interests of Germany. As you argue for a specific proposal or parts of a proposal, be aware that offending other delegates to the conference could backfire on you. Diplomacy and courtesy are invaluable to your success at the conference.

**Character Background**

You are a representative to the Bundestag, the lower house of the federal legislature in Germany. Throughout your political career, you have been involved in official efforts to distribute funds to victims of Nazi persecution during World War II. You strongly believe that it is the moral responsibility of the Federal Republic of Germany—as the legal successor to the Nazi-led German Reich—to recognize the government's role in the tragic fate of millions of Jews and other minority groups under Hitler's rule.

Although you realize that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to truly bring "moral closure" to Germany's Nazi past, you strongly feel that Germany should do as much as possible to bring "material closure" to the atrocities of its Nazi era. Particularly, you feel that it is important to provide economic relief to the victims of the Holocaust or forced labor who are still living today. Many of these people are now elderly and are suffering economic hardships. You strongly believe in and support the current efforts by the German government and industry to provide reparations to wartime victims.

You are also proud of Germany's commitment to educating its population about the Holocaust. Numerous museums and memorials have been created in Germany and in other countries such as the United States to preserve the tragic history of the Nazi-era concentration camps. You fully support these efforts to preserve this history.

**Character Notes**

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*Lesson Four*

# EPILOGUE: THE SAN FRANCISCO PEACE TREATY AND U.S.–JAPAN RELATIONS

## Organizing Questions

- How do the governments of Japan and the United States view bilateral relations?
- In what areas do the United States and Japan depend on one another?

## Introduction

Lesson Four is the final lesson of *The San Francisco Peace Treaty: The Cold War and the Peace Process.* In Part One of this lesson, students will interpret two speeches read at the ceremony commemorating the 50th anniversary of the signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty. The speeches in this lesson, delivered by U.S. Secretary of State, Colin Powell, and Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, Makiko Tanaka, reflect on the past fifty years of peace as well as contemporary relations between the two countries. Students will discuss these viewpoints in small groups in class. In Part Two of this lesson, students will use the Internet to seek answers to a trivia game. The game is designed in part to review the material presented in this lesson and in the unit as a whole. Other information is presented in the game for student interest.

## Objectives

*knowledge*

- to develop a basic understanding of some of the issues facing the future of U.S.–Japan relations
- to gain exposure to factual information pertaining to U.S.–Japan relations
- to understand the interdependent nature of U.S.–Japan relations

*attitude*

- to appreciate the importance of U.S.–Japan relations
- to acknowledge the role of the San Francisco Peace Treaty in the recent history of U.S.–Japan relations

*skill*

- to foster group communication, presentation, listening, and note-taking skills
- to develop problem-solving skills through proposing solutions to recent issues in U.S.–Japan relations

## Materials

Handout #1: *Remarks by Secretary of State, Colin Powell*

Handout #2: *Remarks by Minister of Foreign Affairs, Makiko Tanaka*

Handout #3: *Guiding Questions*

Handout #4: *Trivial Matters*

Transparency #1: *Trivial Matters*

## Time

- 2 class periods

## Teacher Preparation

These instructions are based on a class of 30 students. If you have more or fewer than 30 students in the class, adjust the preparation accordingly.

1. Make 15 copies of Handouts #1 and #2.
2. Make 30 copies of Handouts #3 and #4.
3. Make 1 transparency copy of Transparency #1.

NOTE: This lesson will include an Internet research activity. Thus, the teacher is advised to hold the class in a room that contains computers available for students' use.

## Procedure Part One

1. Ask students in partner pairs to read Handout #1, *Remarks by Secretary of State, Colin Powell*, Handout #2, *Remarks by Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, Makiko Tanaka*, and to answer the questions on Handout #3, *Guiding Questions*.
2. Lead a brief class discussion, eliciting the students' responses to the following questions:

- What are some words that come to mind when describing the U.S.–Japan relationship?
- In general, how do Powell and Tanaka view the San Francisco Peace Treaty? Why?
- What are some of the ways in which the United States and Japan depend on one another?
- What are some areas of concern for the United States and Japan?

Write the students' responses on the chalkboard or whiteboard.


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## Part Two

In Part Two, students will be divided into teams to complete a "Trivial Matters" game.

1. Divide the class into teams of five students each and distribute copies of Handout #4: *Trivial Matters*, to the entire class.

2. Inform the students that they will be given the remainder of the class period to complete as many questions as possible and that each team will be required to turn in a copy of the team's responses at the end of the period. Ask the students to meet with their teams to read the list of questions and determine the team's response to questions with which they are already familiar. Inform the students that they can use the Internet to seek information.

3. At the end of the period, collect a list of responses from each team.

4. During the first 10 minutes of the following class period, review the correct answers to the quiz. Using Transparency #1: *Trivial Matters*, cover the answers to the questions, and ask a student to read each question aloud. Next, ask a representative from each team to state the group's answer. Referring to Transparency #1, share the correct response to each question with the class. Keep a tally of each team's point total on the board to determine which group "wins."

## Final Essay Assignment

Have students review the *World Book Encyclopedia* entry (Lesson One, Unit Orientation Handout #2, p. 13). Then, ask them to write an article about the San Francisco Peace Treaty for the upcoming edition of an online encyclopedia. In writing the article, students should be encouraged to integrate their activity experiences as well as their class notes and information from the handouts in this unit.

## Assessment of Final Essay

Papers should be assessed for clarity, persuasiveness, proper use of language, and syntax. From a content perspective, a good essay should address some of the following items:

- Facts about the treaty (who signed it, when it was written, etc.)
- Information about the various national and regional events and/or issues that affected international relations between 1945 and 1951 (Students should be most familiar with the region or country to which they were assigned during Lessons One and Two)
- Specific points about the San Francisco Peace Treaty that contributed to its contentiousness (e.g., it was not signed by the Soviet Union or China; it was drafted primarily by the United States)
- Discussion of the official U.S. and Japanese views on the San Francisco Peace Treaty

# REMARKS BY U.S. SECRETARY OF STATE, COLIN POWELL

**Remarks at the Ceremony Commemorating the Signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty**
Opera House
San Francisco, CA
September 8, 2001

Thank you Secretary Shultz for that very generous introduction.

Former Prime Minister Miyazawa, Foreign Minister Tanaka, Director General Nakatani, Deputy Secretary Wolfowitz, Ambassador Yanai, Ambassador Baker, Governor Davis, Mayor Brown, I am pleased to join with you today in commemorating the 50th Anniversary of the Treaty of Peace with Japan, and indeed to celebrate the bonds of friendship and cooperation between our countries that are a direct outgrowth of what was done here on September 8, 1951.

What far-sighted thinkers and doers they were, the men and women who came here to write a formal end to World War II in the Pacific. We need to look back at the tensions of those times to understand just how bold a step they were taking. Just six years after the end of the deadliest war in world history, one that cost the lives of an estimated sixty million human beings, the world seemed to tremble on the brink once more.

The Cold War had become very hot on the Korean peninsula. A United Nations force of 550,000 troops, most of them American, was fighting a terrible war of stalemate and attrition with North Korean and Chinese Communists. In early September of 1951, the First Marine Division had just seized a place called Bloody Ridge at a cost of 2,700 casualties... It was against this backdrop that the delegations convened here...

Now we look back proudly at what was done here on September 8, 1951, what was achieved by that Peace Treaty, even as we look to the future and see the challenges and needs of this new century, this new time in the lives of our nations.

We are fortunate to have with us today several who worked at that conference 50 years ago. From Japan, the Honorable Kiichi Miyazawa, then an aide to the Minister of Finance, later Prime Minister. From the United States, Robert Fearey, then special assistant to the Director of the Office of Northeast Asian Affairs. Gentlemen, we are honored by your presence.

You know, it was not by accident that San Francisco was chosen as the place where delegates would write this treaty. San Francisco was a symbol of America's willingness to come half way in the process of restoring peace...

It is right that we look at what has been accomplished by the Treaty written here. It surely achieved the goals laid out by President Truman. Within hours of the conclusion of the Peace Conference, the U.S. and Japan signed a Security Treaty at The Presidio...

Today, our economies are the two largest in the world, accounting for nearly 40 percent of all economic activity. Japan is a welcome partner in managing international economic issues, and a critical bilateral trade partner for the United States.

What has been accomplished is clear. What remains to be accomplished is just as clear: Today the Asia-Pacific region faces a new era, a time to put the Cold War behind us. A time to build on the advantages of our security alliances even as we expand responsibilities and increase the benefits that flow from them. A time for regional institutions to take on a more

meaningful role in preserving the stability and security of East Asia. A time when globalization offers us an opportunity to create a web of beneficial connections that minimize disparities between rich and poor, and maximize the benefits of trade for everyone. Most important, this is a time when we must work to ensure that all of the nations of Asia remain at peace, enjoying the blessings of prosperity and security.

Unlike Europe, Asia has few institutions where nations of the region can sit down and talk, where grievances can be aired, where security issues can be discussed, and where the future can be mapped out with some degree of certainty and cooperation. Such institutions must be nurtured and strengthened. Just as trade and economic organizations and agreements bring greater prosperity, our security arrangements only add to the stability of the region.

It is up to us to modernize our alliances and adjust them to the new realities, especially new and emerging threats. We must do everything necessary to guarantee that our respective countries are strong and robust, and ready to shoulder the responsibilities that these new times are shaping for us. President Bush and Prime Minister Koizumi had a great meeting at Camp David in June, and they built on that beginning with more discussions at the G-8 meetings in Italy in July...

And Foreign Minister Tanaka and I have had several opportunities to discuss U.S.–Japan relations, including in July on the margins of the ASEAN Regional Forum in Hanoi and today over a working lunch here in the beautiful city of San Francisco. In Hanoi, Makiko-san and I even tried our hand at a theater routine where I played a West Texas cowboy and she played a lovely lady of whom the cowboy was enamored...

And while Prime Minister Koizumi works to restore the economy, I have every confidence that he will also look carefully at what Japan can do to help bolster stability and security in the region. We encourage Japan to look ahead to meeting more regional and international responsibilities as befits a nation with such amazing resources and capabilities.

If the story of the last half-century was how former enemies worked closely together to construct a flourishing partnership, the challenge of the next half-century will be how firm friends can work even harder in that partnership. Our alliance needs to become a global alliance—an alliance that can deal with international crime, high seas piracy, HIV/AIDS, illegal narcotics, and other transnational threats. And an alliance that continues to extend the values of democracy, open markets, and build respect for human rights. The lessons of history, and the voices of those who preceded us in this place 50 years ago, demand nothing less.

Released on September 8, 2001

Source: <http://www.state.gov>

## handout #1

**Remarks at Ceremony Commemorating the Signing of the U.S.–Japan Security Treaty**

The Golden Gate Club at the Presidio
San Francisco, CA
September 8, 2001

Thank you Secretary Shultz for that very kind introduction.

Foreign Minister Tanaka, Director General Nakatani, Deputy Secretary Wolfowitz, Ambassador Yanai, Ambassador Baker, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen—I am pleased to be here with you in this beautiful setting in the shadow of the Golden Gate.

Half a century later, it is difficult to recall just how pervasive an atmosphere of anxiety gripped the world in the year 1951, as the Cold War heated up on the frontiers of Asia and tensions mounted along the Iron Curtain that divided Europe.

A war of Communist aggression was underway in Korea. The Communists had driven the Nationalist Chinese government off the mainland. Insurgencies flared in Indochina and elsewhere.

There was even concern that the Peace Conference, to be held here in San Francisco at the War Memorial Opera House where some of us will meet later, might itself provoke a Soviet attack on Japan.

So these were bold and courageous people who met in San Francisco half a century ago. And the Security Treaty that was signed following the Peace Conference, signed here in this room, was a significant part of their boldness and their courage. Today, we can be deeply grateful for their leadership and vision.

The Security Treaty that was signed here was the first step toward the regional peace and prosperity that we enjoy today. By guaranteeing the defense of Japan, these visionary thinkers provided a shield behind which Japan could rebuild and ultimately prosper. Several years later, in 1960, the United States and Japan concluded a Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security and a Status of Forces Agreement. Taken together, these treaties have formed the basis for our bilateral alliance, which remains the cornerstone of peace and security throughout the entire Asia-Pacific region.

Japan today hosts nearly 50,000 American soldiers, sailors, airmen, and Marines. Our alliance and these forward-deployed forces have been a bulwark in deterring armed conflicts.

We thank Japan for its most generous Host Nation Support, a tangible expression of commitment to the alliance. Japan spends some four billion dollars a year in support of America.

We want to be good neighbors and welcome guests in Japan, and toward that end we are working to minimize the burdens of our bases on the people of Okinawa. We must always keep foremost in our minds the security of the region, but we can always work toward making the lives of our generous hosts as little interrupted as possible.

While we signed our first bilateral security treaty 50 years ago today, the alliance that evolved from that treaty is not some dusty relic. It is a living alliance, and (we) also seek ways to respond to the challenges that North Korea has posed, ranging from the development of weapons of mass destruction and missile proliferation to widespread famine. We will work to

strengthen cooperation and enhance coordination between the United States, Japan, and the Republic of Korea.

As we work to modernize our alliance to meet new realities and new challenges, we will be encouraging Japan to look at doing more to help increase stability and security in the Asia-Pacific region, particularly through contributions in the areas of peacekeeping, humanitarian assistance, and disaster relief.

I am firmly convinced that the U.S.–Japan Security Treaty and our alliance will be just as critical to peace and prosperity in Asia for the next 50 years as it has been in the last 50. The diplomats who crafted both the Peace Treaty and the U.S–Japan Security Treaty left us a lasting and valuable legacy. It is up to us to build on that legacy and work hard to keep the peace.

Thank you.

Released on October 1, 2001
Source: <http://www.state.gov>

# REMARKS BY JAPANESE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, MAKIKO TANAKA

**Remarks at the Ceremony Commemorating the Signing of the U.S.–Japan Peace Treaty**
Opera House
San Francisco, CA
September 8, 2001

Translated from the original Japanese

Secretary Shultz,
Secretary Powell,
Prime Minister Miyazawa,
Mayor Brown,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

Fifty years ago on this day and in this Opera House, the San Francisco Peace Treaty was signed. San Francisco is said to have been chosen as the site with the hope that the Pacific would truly become the ocean of peace. I am happy to have just received from Speaker Hertzberg a copy of the California State Legislature resolution proclaiming September 8th as Japan Peace Treaty Day. Today I sincerely appreciate the open hearted and friendly welcome by the people of California and especially the people of San Francisco. I would also like to express my respect and gratitude to the honorary chair of this event, Secretary Shultz, and to all the members of the Japan–U.S. 21st Century Project.

The San Francisco Peace Treaty restored Japan to full sovereignty, equality and freedom. It enabled my country to rejoin postwar international society. Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida, the head of the Japanese delegation, said in his speech that this treaty "is an instrument of reconciliation and trust." So it has proved to be. On the same day of signing the peace treaty, the Japan–U.S. Security Treaty was signed at the Presidio. Thus, the two nations have become indispensable partners. History has proved that these decisions were right. It should also be emphasized that the reversion of Okinawa was realized in 1972.

The San Francisco Peace Treaty served as a basis for Japan's post-war development. It also laid the foundation for peace and prosperity in the international community. This Treaty resolved all the post-war settlement issues among the Parties, including Japan and the United States. The Treaty also enabled Japan and the Allied Powers to put an end to the past and take a new step for the future. Japan has faithfully implemented its obligations under the Treaty.

We have never forgotten that Japan caused tremendous damage and suffering to the people of many countries during the last war. Many lost their precious lives and many were wounded. The war has left an incurable scar on many people, including former prisoners of war. Facing these facts of history in a spirit of humility, I reaffirm today our feelings of deep remorse and heartfelt apology expressed in the Prime Minister Murayama's statement of 1995.

Ladies and Gentlemen,
Immediately after the war, Japan faced food shortage and economic difficulties. When the Japanese people were suffering, it was the United States who generously provided assistance. Many young Japanese studied in the United States under the programs such as the GARIOA [Government Aid and Relief in Occupied Areas] Scholarship and the Fulbright Scholarship. What they learned contributed to the economic development of Japan thereafter. The United States also supported Japan's joining the multilateral free trade system. The Japanese people


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will never forget the assistance and support extended by the United States. Today, in Tokyo, the A50 ceremony, led by non-governmental initiative, was held to express appreciation to the United States for its role in Japan's postwar recovery. The representatives of A50 are also present at this ceremony.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Fifty years covers one-third of the history of Japan–U.S. relations. During this last fifty years, the international community has experienced drastic change and faced various challenges. Occasionally, our two nations also experienced frictions, such as in the trade field. We have overcome such challenges and advanced "the most important bilateral relationship, bar none." This was possible because we have shared values of freedom, democracy and a market economy. We are also bonded with a friendship and basic trust in each other. In the history of the world, what other two nations who were engaged in war have so rapidly established so strong a partnership? In the future, problems may arise between us from time to time. But I am convinced that we can overcome these challenges through close dialogue with a spirit of cooperation.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

As we entered the new millennium, we are turning a new page in the Japan–U.S. relationship. Today, uncertainty and instability still exist in the Asia-Pacific region. The international community faces a number of global challenges. The United States and Japan, the largest and second largest economies in the world, fully recognize our responsibilities in meeting these challenges.

The world expects the United States to continue to play the leading role in addressing such issues as economy, global environment, security and arms control. Also to advance the global economy, the world expects Japan to revitalize its own economy. The Koizumi Cabinet is determined to carry out structural reform toward this end. Japan is also ready to play a more active role in the international arena.

We are allies in political and security fields. We are close economic partners. And I believe we must enhance mutual exchanges in the cultural field. Two countries with such differences in history and culture should never cease to learn about each other's society. And we cannot understand each other's society without understanding the humanity that forms that society.

With this belief in mind, I will initiate from next year a program, which invites 25 U.S. high school students to Japan for a period of one year. Hoping that this will be a step, small though it may be, to advance the Japan–U.S. relationship, I named this program JUMP. It stands for the Japan–U.S. Mutual-understanding Program.

Ladies and gentlemen,

All the friendship, all the cooperation, all the trust that our two countries now enjoy started in this room half a century ago.

Let us pledge ourselves to advancing peace and prosperity in the coming 50 years as our predecessors have done in the past 50 years. Let us work together. Let us start today.

Thank you very much.

Source: Courtesy of the Consulate General of Japan, San Francisco

# GUIDING QUESTIONS

Prepare responses to the questions related to the speech you read.

## Remarks by Colin Powell:

1. How does Secretary of State Powell view the San Francisco Peace Treaty and the U.S.–Japan Security Treaty?

2. According to Powell, what are some of the ways in which the United States and Japan cooperate with one another? Why is this cooperation important to regional and global security?

3. According to Powell, what are some of the international issues facing the United States and Japan today?

## Remarks by Makiko Tanaka:

1. How does Foreign Minister Tanaka view the San Francisco Peace Treaty? According to Tanaka, what role did the treaty play in determining the future course of postwar Japan?

2. How does Tanaka address the issue of Japan's war responsibility?

3. According to Tanaka, what are some of the ways in which Japan and the United States cooperate with one another?


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# TRIVIAL MATTERS

Discuss the following questions with your team and circle the correct response to each question. Each team will be asked to turn in one completed handout to the teacher at the end of the period. Your team may choose to divide responsibilities and conduct Internet-based research to answer the questions.

1. Japan is host to how many U.S. military personnel?

   A. 10,000 B. 20,000 C. 50,000 D. 100,000

2. Japanese and U.S. economic activity accounts for approximately what percentage of the world economy?

   A. About 30% B. About 40% C. About 50% D. About 55%

3. How many Japanese students were studying in the United States in 2000?

   A. 12,430 B. 20,541 C. 58,719 D. 87,157

4. How many American students were studying in Japan in 2000?

   A. 1,044 B. 5,323 C. 11,455 D. 17,411

5. Which of the following international organizations does not include BOTH Japan and the United States?

   A. WTO B. APEC C. G-8 D. NATO

6. As of October 2001, how many Starbucks coffee shops have opened in Japan?

   A. 50 B. 300 C. 350 D. More than 500

7. When did the United States return the islands of Okinawa to Japan?

   A. 1945 B. 1951 C. 1972 D. 1985

8. According to Japanese government statistics, how many Japanese visited the United States for the purpose of tourism in the year 2000?

   A. 1,430,998 B. 3,885,319 C. 3,900,430 D. 4,336,954

9. What is the Kyoto Protocol?

   A. An international agreement calling for reduced emissions of gases that damage the environment

   B. An international agreement intended to resolve the Asian Financial Crisis through loans to Thai and Indonesian banks

   C. A bilateral agreement calling for the protection of Kyoto's historical sites

   D. A regional agreement approving the presence of U.S. forces in East Asia until 2020

10. Which of the following countries did not ratify the Kyoto Protocol?

    A. France B. United States C. Japan D. Italy

11. Which of the following U.S. chain stores have operations in Japan?

    A. Kentucky Fried Chicken B. Toys-R-Us C. Pizza Hut D. All of the above

12. The United States supplies approximately what percentage of total rice imports to Japan?

    A. 25% B. 30% C. 40% D. 50%

13. From which category does Japan export most to the United States?

    A. Foodstuffs B. Chemical Products C. Textiles D. Machinery and Equipment

14. According to a 2001 U.S. Department of Commerce report, how many U.S. companies exported their goods/services to Japan in 1999?

    A. 17,429 B. 28,066 C. 53,689 D. 122,094

15. To which country did the United States export the most in total U.S. dollars in the year 2000?

    A. Canada B. Mexico C. Germany D. Japan

16. From which country did the United States import the most in total U.S. dollars in the year 2000?

    A. Canada B. Mexico C. Germany D. Japan

17. Representatives from how many countries attended the San Francisco Peace Treaty Conference?

    A. 2 B. 25 C. 52 D. 102


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18. When did the Korean War begin?

A. July 4, 1929 B. April 15, 1935 C. June 25, 1950 D. May 10, 1960

19. Which Southeast Asian nation cooperated with Japan during World War II?

A. The Philippines B. Thailand C. Malaysia D. Indonesia

20. Who led the Soviet Union during and immediately after World War II?

A. Gorbachev B. Kruschev C. Hitler D. Stalin

21. What German city was divided into four zones of occupation after World War II?

A. Hamburg B. Frankfurt C. Potsdam D. Berlin

22. What 1947 U.S. aid program focused on promoting European economic growth under American guidance during the early Cold War?

A. Marshall Plan B. Truman Plan C. Five-Year Plan D. European Aid Plan

23. Which Japanese prime minister signed the San Francisco Peace Treaty on behalf of the Japanese government?

A. Shigeru Yoshida B. Makiko Tanaka C. Kiichi Miyazawa D. Junichiro Koizumi

24. To which island did Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese Nationalist Party flee in 1949 after being defeated by the Chinese Communists in a civil war?

A. Hong Kong B. Taiwan C. Macao D. Okinawa

25. Which of the following countries decided not to participate in the signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty?

A. Vietnam B. India C. Great Britain D. The Philippines

# TRIVIAL MATTERS

Discuss the following questions with your team and circle the correct response to each question. Each team will be asked to turn in one completed handout to the teacher at the end of the period. Your team may choose to divide responsibilities and conduct Internet-based research to answer the questions.

1. Japan is host to how many U.S. military personnel?

   A. 10,000 B. 20,000 **C. 50,000** D. 100,000

2. Japanese and U.S. economic activity accounts for approximately what percentage of the world economy?

   A. About 30% **B. About 40%** C. About 50% D. About 55%

3. How many Japanese students were studying in the United States in 2000?

   A. 12,430 B. 20,541 C. 58,719 **D. 87,157**

4. How many American students were studying in Japan in 2000?

   **A. 1,044** B. 5,323 C. 11,455 D. 17,411

5. Which of the following international organizations does not include BOTH Japan and the United States?

   A. WTO B. APEC C. G-8 **D. NATO**

6. As of October 2001, how many Starbucks coffee shops have opened in Japan?

   A. 50 **B. 300** C. 750 D. More than 1000

7. When did the United States return the islands of Okinawa to Japan?

   A. 1945 B. 1951 **C. 1972** D. 1985

8. According to Japanese government statistics, how many Japanese visited the United States for the purpose of tourism in the year 2000?

   A. 1,430,998 B. 3,885,319 C. 3,900,430 **D. 4,336,95**


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9. What is the Kyoto Protocol?

   **A. An international agreement calling for reduced emissions of gases that damage the environment**

   B. An international agreement intended to resolve the Asian Financial Crisis through loans to Thai and Indonesian banks

   C. A bilateral agreement calling for the protection of Kyoto's historical sites

   D. A regional agreement approving the presence of U.S. forces in East Asia until 2020

10. Which of the following countries did not ratify the Kyoto Protocol?

    A. France **B. United States** C. Japan D. Italy

11. Which of the following U.S. chain stores have operations in Japan?

    A. Kentucky Fried Chicken B. Toys-R-Us C. Pizza Hut **D. All of the above**

12. The United States supplies approximately what percentage of total rice imports to Japan?

    A. 25% B. 30% C. 40% **D. 50%**

13. From which category does Japan export most to the United States?

    A. Foodstuffs B. Chemical Products C. Textiles **D. Machinery and Equipment**
    *In 2000, the Japanese Government reported 12,528,217 million yen (approximately U.S.$108 billion) in machinery and equipment exports to the United States

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# APPENDICES

WHEREAS the Allied Powers and Japan are resolved that henceforth their relations shall be those of nations which, as sovereign equals, cooperate in friendly association to promote their common welfare and to maintain international peace and security, and are therefore desirous of concluding a Treaty of Peace which will settle questions still outstanding as a result of the existence of a state of war between them;

WHEREAS Japan for its part declares its intention to apply for membership in the United Nations and in all circumstances to conform to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations; to strive to realize the objectives of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights; to seek to create within Japan conditions of stability and well-being as defined in Articles 55 and 56 of the Charter of the United Nations and already initiated by post-surrender Japanese legislation; and in public and private trade and commerce to conform to internationally accepted fair practices;

WHEREAS the Allied Powers welcome the intentions of Japan set out in the foregoing paragraph;

THE ALLIED POWERS AND JAPAN have therefore determined to conclude the present Treaty of Peace, and have accordingly appointed the undersigned Plenipotentiaries, who, after presentation of their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed on the following provisions:

**CHAPTER I**

PEACE

***Article 1***

(a) The state of war between Japan and each of the Allied Powers is terminated as from the date on which the present Treaty comes into force between Japan and the Allied Power concerned as provided for in Article 23.

(b) The Allied Powers recognize the full sovereignty of the Japanese people over Japan and its territorial waters.

**CHAPTER II**

TERRITORY

***Article 2***

(a) Japan recognizing the independence of Korea, renounces all right, title and claim to Korea, including the islands of Quelpart, Port Hamilton and Dagelet.

(b) Japan renounces all right, title and claim to Formosa and the Pescadores.

(c) Japan renounces all right, title and claim to the Kurile Islands, and to that portion of Sakhalin and the islands adjacent to it over which Japan acquired sovereignty as a consequence of the Treaty of Portsmouth of 5 September 1905.

(d) Japan renounces all right, title and claim in connection with the League of Nations Mandate System, and accepts the action of the United Nations Security Council of 2 April 1947, extending the trusteeship system to the Pacific Islands formerly under mandate to Japan.

(e) Japan renounces all claim to any right or title to or interest in connection with any part of the Antarctic area, whether deriving from the activities of Japanese nationals or otherwise.

(f) Japan renounces all right, title and claim to the Spratly Islands and to the Paracel Islands.


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*Article 3*

Japan will concur in any proposal of the United States to the United Nations to place under its trusteeship system, with the United States as the sole administering authority, Nansei Shoto south of 29 deg. north latitude (including the Ryukyu Islands and the Daito Islands), Nanpo Shoto south of Sofu Gan (including the Bonin Islands, Rosario Island and the Volcano Islands) and Parece Vela and Marcus Island. Pending the making of such a proposal and affirmative action thereon, the United States will have the right to exercise all and any powers of administration, legislation and jurisdiction over the territory and inhabitants of these islands, including their territorial waters.

*Article 4*

(a) Subject to the provisions of paragraph (b) of this Article, the disposition of property of Japan and of its nationals in the areas referred to in Article 2, and their claims, including debts, against the authorities presently administering such areas and the residents (including juridical persons) thereof, and the disposition in Japan of property of such authorities and residents, and of claims, including debts, of such authorities and residents against Japan and its nationals, shall be the subject of special arrangements between Japan and such authorities. The property of any of the Allied Powers or its nationals in the areas referred to in Article 2 shall, insofar as this has not already been done, be returned by the administering authority in the condition in which it now exists. (The term nationals whenever used in the present Treaty includes juridical persons.)

(b) Japan recognizes the validity of dispositions of property of Japan and Japanese nationals made by or pursuant to directives of the United States Military Government in any of the areas referred to in Articles 2 and 3.

(c) Japanese owned submarine cables connection Japan with territory removed from Japanese control pursuant to the present Treaty shall be equally divided, Japan retaining the Japanese terminal and adjoining half of the cable, and the detached territory the remainder of the cable and connecting terminal facilities.

**CHAPTER III**

SECURITY

*Article 5*

(a) Japan accepts the obligations set forth in Article 2 of the Charter of the United Nations, and in particular the obligations

(i) to settle its international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security, and justice, are not endangered;

(ii) to refrain in its international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations;
(iii) to give the United Nations every assistance in any action it takes in accordance with the Charter and to refrain from giving assistance to any State against which the United Nations may take preventive or enforcement action.

(b) The Allied Powers confirm that they will be guided by the principles of Article 2 of the Charter of the United Nations in their relations with Japan.

(c) The Allied Powers for their part recognize that Japan as a sovereign nation possesses the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense referred to in Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations and that Japan may voluntarily enter into collective security arrangements.

***Article 6***

(a) All occupation forces of the Allied Powers shall be withdrawn from Japan as soon as possible after the coming into force of the present Treaty, and in any case not later than 90 days thereafter. Nothing in this provision shall, however, prevent the stationing or retention of foreign armed forces in Japanese territory under or in consequence of any bilateral or multilateral agreements which have been or may be made between one or more of the Allied Powers, on the one hand, and Japan on the other.

(b) The provisions of Article 9 of the Potsdam Proclamation of 26 July 1945, dealing with the return of Japanese military forces to their homes, to the extent not already completed, will be carried out.

(c) All Japanese property for which compensation has not already been paid, which was supplied for the use of the occupation forces and which remains in the possession of those forces at the time of the coming into force of the present Treaty, shall be returned to the Japanese Government within the same 90 days unless other arrangements are made by mutual agreement.

**CHAPTER IV**

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CLAUSES

***Article 7***

(a) Each of the Allied Powers, within one year after the present Treaty has come into force between it and Japan, will notify Japan which of its prewar bilateral treaties or conventions with Japan it wishes to continue in force or revive, and any treaties or conventions so notified shall continue in force or by revived subject only to such amendments as may be necessary to ensure conformity with the present Treaty. The treaties and conventions so notified shall be considered as having been continued in force or revived three months after the date of notification and shall be registered with the Secretariat of the United Nations. All such treaties and conventions as to which Japan is not so notified shall be regarded as abrogated.

(b) Any notification made under paragraph (a) of this Article may except from the operation or revival of a treaty or convention any territory for the international relations of which the notifying Power is responsible, until three months after the date on which notice is given to Japan that such exception shall cease to apply.

***Article 8***

(a) Japan will recognize the full force of all treaties now or hereafter concluded by the Allied Powers for terminating the state of war initiated on 1 September 1939, as well as any other arrangements by the Allied Powers for or in connection with the restoration of peace. Japan also accepts the arrangements made for terminating the former League of Nations and Permanent Court of International Justice.

(b) Japan renounces all such rights and interests as it may derive from being a signatory power of the Conventions of St. Germain-en-Laye of 10 September 1919, and the Straits Agreement of Montreux of 20 July 1936, and from Article 16 of the Treaty of Peace with Turkey signed at Lausanne on 24 July 1923.

(c) Japan renounces all rights, title and interests acquired under, and is discharged from all obligations resulting from, the Agreement between Germany and the Creditor Powers of 20 January 1930 and its Annexes, including the Trust Agreement, dated 17 May 1930, the Convention of 20 January 1930, respecting the Bank for International Settlements; and the Statutes of the Bank for International

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Settlements. Japan will notify to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris within six months of the first coming into force of the present Treaty its renunciation of the rights, title and interests referred to in this paragraph.

***Article 9***

Japan will enter promptly into negotiations with the Allied Powers so desiring for the conclusion of bilateral and multilateral agreements providing for the regulation or limitation of fishing and the conservation and development of fisheries on the high seas.

***Article 10***

Japan renounces all special rights and interests in China, including all benefits and privileges resulting from the provisions of the final Protocol signed at Peking on 7 September 1901, and all annexes, notes and documents supplementary thereto, and agrees to the abrogation in respect to Japan of the said protocol, annexes, notes and documents.

***Article 11***

Japan accepts the judgments of the International Military Tribunal for the Far East and of other Allied War Crimes Courts both within and outside Japan, and will carry out the sentences imposed thereby upon Japanese nationals imprisoned in Japan. The power to grant clemency, to reduce sentences and to parole with respect to such prisoners may not be exercised except on the decision of the Government or Governments which imposed the sentence in each instance, and on recommendation of Japan. In the case of persons sentenced by the International Military Tribunal for the Far East, such power may not be exercised except on the decision of a majority of the Governments represented on the Tribunal, and on the recommendation of Japan.

***Article 12***

(a) Japan declares its readiness promptly to enter into negotiations for the conclusion with each of the Allied Powers of treaties or agreements to place their trading, maritime and other commercial relations on a stable and friendly basis.

(b) Pending the conclusion of the relevant treaty or agreement, Japan will, during a period of four years from the first coming into force of the present Treaty

(1) accord to each of the Allied Powers, its nationals, products and vessels

(i) most-favoured-nation treatment with respect to customs duties, charges, restrictions and other regulations on or in connection with the importation and exportation of goods;
(ii) national treatment with respect to shipping, navigation and imported goods, and with respect to natural and juridical persons and their interests - such treatment to include all matters pertaining to the levying and collection of taxes, access to the courts, the making and performance of contracts, rights to property (tangible and intangible), participating in juridical entities constituted under Japanese law, and generally the conduct of all kinds of business and professional activities;

(2) ensure that external purchases and sales of Japanese state trading enterprises shall be based solely on commercial considerations.

(c) In respect to any matter, however, Japan shall be obliged to accord to an Allied Power national treatment, or most-favored-nation treatment, only to the extent that the Allied Power concerned accords Japan national treatment or most-favored-nation treatment, as the case may be, in respect of the same matter. The reciprocity envisaged in the foregoing sentence shall be determined, in the case of products, vessels and juridical entities of, and persons domiciled in, any non-metropolitan territory of an Allied

Power, and in the case of juridical entities of, and persons domiciled in, any state or province of an Allied Power having a federal government, by reference to the treatment accorded to Japan in such territory, state or province.

(d) In the application of this Article, a discriminatory measure shall not be considered to derogate from the grant of national or most-favored-nation treatment, as the case may be, if such measure is based on an exception customarily provided for in the commercial treaties of the party applying it, or on the need to safeguard that party's external financial position or balance of payments (except in respect to shipping and navigation), or on the need to maintain its essential security interests, and provided such measure is proportionate to the circumstances and not applied in an arbitrary or unreasonable manner.

(e) Japan's obligations under this Article shall not be affected by the exercise of any Allied rights under Article 14 of the present Treaty; nor shall the provisions of this Article be understood as limiting the undertakings assumed by Japan by virtue of Article 15 of the Treaty.

***Article 13***

(a) Japan will enter into negotiations with any of the Allied Powers, promptly upon the request of such Power or Powers, for the conclusion of bilateral or multilateral agreements relating to international civil air transport.

(b) Pending the conclusion of such agreement or agreements, Japan will, during a period of four years from the first coming into force of the present Treaty, extend to such Power treatment not less favorable with respect to air-traffic rights and privileges than those exercised by any such Powers at the date of such coming into force, and will accord complete equality of opportunity in respect to the operation and development of air services.

(c) Pending its becoming a party to the Convention on International Civil Aviation in accordance with Article 93 thereof, Japan will give effect to the provisions of that Convention applicable to the international navigation of aircraft, and will give effect to the standards, practices and procedures adopted as annexes to the Convention in accordance with the terms of the Convention.

**CHAPTER V**

CLAIMS AND PROPERTY

***Article 14***

(a) It is recognized that Japan should pay reparations to the Allied Powers for the damage and suffering caused by it during the war. Nevertheless it is also recognized that the resources of Japan are not presently sufficient, if it is to maintain a viable economy, to make complete reparation for all such damage and suffering and at the same time meet its other obligations.

Therefore,

1. Japan will promptly enter into negotiations with Allied Powers so desiring, whose present territories were occupied by Japanese forces and damaged by Japan, with a view to assisting to compensate those countries for the cost of repairing the damage done, by making available the services of the Japanese people in production, salvaging and other work for the Allied Powers in question. Such arrangements shall avoid the imposition of additional liabilities on other Allied Powers, and, where the manufacturing of raw materials is called for, they shall be supplied by the Allied Powers in question, so as not to throw any foreign exchange burden upon Japan.

2. (I) Subject to the provisions of subparagraph (II) below, each of the Allied Powers shall have the right to seize, retain, liquidate or otherwise dispose of all property, rights and interests of

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(a) Japan and Japanese nationals,

(b) persons acting for or on behalf of Japan or Japanese nationals, and

(c) entities owned or controlled by Japan or Japanese nationals,

which on the first coming into force of the present Treaty were subject to its jurisdiction. The property, rights and interests specified in this subparagraph shall include those now blocked, vested or in the possession or under the control of enemy property authorities of Allied Powers, which belong to, or were held or managed on behalf of, any of the persons or entities mentioned in (a), (b) or (c) above at the time such assets came under the controls of such authorities.

(II) The following shall be excepted from the right specified in subparagraph (I) above:

(i) property of Japanese natural persons who during the war resided with the permission of the Government concerned in the territory of one of the Allied Powers, other than territory occupied by Japan, except property subjected to restrictions during the war and not released from such restrictions as of the date of the first coming into force of the present Treaty;

(ii) all real property, furniture and fixtures owned by the Government of Japan and used for diplomatic or consular purposes, and all personal furniture and furnishings and other private property not of an investment nature which was normally necessary for the carrying out of diplomatic and consular functions, owned by Japanese diplomatic and consular personnel;

(iii) property belonging to religious bodies or private charitable institutions and used exclusively for religious or charitable purposes;

(iv) property, rights and interests which have come within its jurisdiction in consequence of the resumption of trade and financial relations subsequent to 2 September 1945, between the country concerned and Japan, except such as have resulted from transactions contrary to the laws of the Allied Power concerned;

(v) obligations of Japan or Japanese nationals, any right, title or interest in tangible property located in Japan, interests in enterprises organized under the laws of Japan, or any paper evidence thereof; provided that this exception shall only apply to obligations of Japan and its nationals expressed in Japanese currency.

(III) Property referred to in exceptions (i) through (v) above shall be returned subject to reasonable expenses for its preservation and administration. If any such property has been liquidated the proceeds shall be returned instead.

(IV) The right to seize, retain, liquidate or otherwise dispose of property as provided in subparagraph (I) above shall be exercised in accordance with the laws of the Allied Power concerned, and the owner shall have only such rights as may be given him by those laws.

(V) The Allied Powers agree to deal with Japanese trademarks and literary and artistic property rights on a basis as favorable to Japan as circumstances ruling in each country will permit.

(b) Except as otherwise provided in the present Treaty, the Allied Powers waive all reparations claims of the Allied Powers, other claims of the Allied Powers and their nationals arising out of any actions taken by Japan and its nationals in the course of the prosecution of the war, and claims of the Allied Powers for direct military costs of occupation.

*Article 15*

(a) Upon application made within nine months of the coming into force of the present Treaty between Japan and the Allied Power concerned, Japan will, within six months of the date of such application, return the property, tangible and intangible, and all rights or interests of any kind in Japan of each Allied Power and its nationals which was within Japan at any time between 7 December 1941 and 2 September 1945, unless the owner has freely disposed thereof without duress or fraud. Such property shall be returned free of all encumbrances and charges to which it may have become subject because of the war, and without any charges for its return. Property whose return is not applied for by or on behalf of the owner or by his Government within the prescribed period may be disposed of by the Japanese Government as it may determine. In cases where such property was within Japan on 7 December 1941, and cannot be returned or has suffered injury or damage as a result of the war, compensation will be made on terms not less favorable than the terms provided in the draft Allied Powers Property Compensation Law approved by the Japanese Cabinet on 13 July 1951.

(b) With respect to industrial property rights impaired during the war, Japan will continue to accord to the Allied Powers and their nationals benefits no less than those heretofore accorded by Cabinet Orders No. 309 effective 1 September 1949, No. 12 effective 28 January 1950, and No. 9 effective 1 February 1950, all as now amended, provided such nationals have applied for such benefits within the time limits prescribed therein.

(c) (i) Japan acknowledges that the literary and artistic property rights which existed in Japan on 6 December 1941, in respect to the published and unpublished works of the Allied Powers and their nationals have continued in force since that date, and recognizes those rights which have arisen, or but for the war would have arisen, in Japan since that date, by the operation of any conventions and agreements to which Japan was a party on that date, irrespective of whether or not such conventions or agreements were abrogated or suspended upon or since the outbreak of war by the domestic law of Japan or of the Allied Power concerned.
(ii) Without the need for application by the proprietor of the right and without the payment of any fee or compliance with any other formality, the period from 7 December 1941 until the coming into force of the present Treaty between Japan and the Allied Power concerned shall be excluded from the running of the normal term of such rights; and such period, with an additional period of six months, shall be excluded from the time within which a literary work must be translated into Japanese in order to obtain translating rights in Japan.

*Article 16*

As an expression of its desire to indemnify those members of the armed forces of the Allied Powers who suffered undue hardships while prisoners of war of Japan, Japan will transfer its assets and those of its nationals in countries which were neutral during the war, or which were at war with any of the Allied Powers, or, at its option, the equivalent of such assets, to the International Committee of the Red Cross which shall liquidate such assets and distribute the resultant fund to appropriate national agencies, for the benefit of former prisoners of war and their families on such basis as it may determine to be equitable. The categories of assets described in Article 14(a)2(II)(ii) through (v) of the present Treaty shall be excepted from transfer, as well as assets of Japanese natural persons not residents of Japan on the first coming into force of the Treaty. It is equally understood that the transfer provision of this Article has no application to the 19,770 shares in the Bank for International Settlements presently owned by Japanese financial institutions.

*Article 17*

(a) Upon the request of any of the Allied Powers, the Japanese Government shall review and revise in conformity with international law any decision or order of the Japanese Prize Courts in cases involving ownership rights of nationals of that Allied Power and shall supply copies of all documents comprising the records of these cases, including the decisions taken and orders issued. In any case in which such

review or revision shows that restoration is due, the provisions of Article 15 shall apply to the property concerned.

(b) The Japanese Government shall take the necessary measures to enable nationals of any of the Allied Powers at any time within one year from the coming into force of the present Treaty between Japan and the Allied Power concerned to submit to the appropriate Japanese authorities for review any judgment given by a Japanese court between 7 December 1941 and such coming into force, in any proceedings in which any such national was unable to make adequate presentation of his case either as plaintiff or defendant. The Japanese Government shall provide that, where the national has suffered injury by reason of any such judgment, he shall be restored in the position in which he was before the judgment was given or shall be afforded such relief as may be just and equitable in the circumstances.

***Article 18***

(a) It is recognized that the intervention of the state of war has not affected the obligation to pay pecuniary debts arising out of obligations and contracts (including those in respect of bonds) which existed and rights which were acquired before the existence of a state of war, and which are due by the Government or nationals of Japan to the Government or nationals of one of the Allied Powers, or are due by the Government or nationals of one of the Allied Powers to the Government or nationals of Japan. The intervention of a state of war shall equally not be regarded as affecting the obligation to consider on their merits claims for loss or damage to property or for personal injury or death which arose before the existence of a state of war, and which may be presented or re-presented by the Government of one of the Allied Powers to the Government of Japan, or by the Government of Japan to any of the Governments of the Allied Powers. The provisions of this paragraph are without prejudice to the rights conferred by Article 14.

(b) Japan affirms its liability for the prewar external debt of the Japanese State and for debts of corporate bodies subsequently declared to be liabilities of the Japanese State, and expresses its intention to enter into negotiations at an early date with its creditors with respect to the resumption of payments on those debts; to encourage negotiations in respect to other prewar claims and obligations; and to facilitate the transfer of sums accordingly.

***Article 19***

(a) Japan waives all claims of Japan and its nationals against the Allied Powers and their nationals arising out of the war or out of actions taken because of the existence of a state of war, and waives all claims arising from the presence, operations or actions of forces or authorities of any of the Allied Powers in Japanese territory prior to the coming into force of the present Treaty.

(b) The foregoing waiver includes any claims arising out of actions taken by any of the Allied Powers with respect to Japanese ships between 1 September 1939 and the coming into force of the present Treaty, as well as any claims and debts arising in respect to Japanese prisoners of war and civilian internees in the hands of the Allied Powers, but does not include Japanese claims specifically recognized in the laws of any Allied Power enacted since 2 September 1945.

(c) Subject to reciprocal renunciation, the Japanese Government also renounces all claims (including debts) against Germany and German nationals on behalf of the Japanese Government and Japanese nationals, including intergovernmental claims and claims for loss or damage sustained during the war, but excepting (a) claims in respect of contracts entered into and rights acquired before 1 September 1939, and (b) claims arising out of trade and financial relations between Japan and Germany after 2 September 1945. Such renunciation shall not prejudice actions taken in accordance with Articles 16 and 20 of the present Treaty.

(d) Japan recognizes the validity of all acts and omissions done during the period of occupation under or in consequence of directives of the occupation authorities or authorized by Japanese law at that time, and

will take no action subjecting Allied nationals to civil or criminal liability arising out of such acts or omissions.

*Article 20*

Japan will take all necessary measures to ensure such disposition of German assets in Japan as has been or may be determined by those powers entitled under the Protocol of the proceedings of the Berlin Conference of 1945 to dispose of those assets, and pending the final disposition of such assets will be responsible for the conservation and administration thereof.

*Article 21*

Notwithstanding the provisions of Article 25 of the present Treaty, China shall be entitled to the benefits of Articles 10 and 14(a)2; and Korea to the benefits of Articles 2, 4, 9 and 12 of the present Treaty.

**CHAPTER VI**

SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES

*Article 22*

If in the opinion of any Party to the present Treaty there has arisen a dispute concerning the interpretation or execution of the Treaty, which is not settled by reference to a special claims tribunal or by other agreed means, the dispute shall, at the request of any party thereto, be referred for decision to the International Court of Justice. Japan and those Allied Powers which are not already parties to the Statute of the International Court of Justice will deposit with the Registrar of the Court, at the time of their respective ratifications of the present Treaty, and in conformity with the resolution of the United Nations Security Council, dated 15 October 1946, a general declaration accepting the jurisdiction, without special agreement, of the Court generally in respect to all disputes of the character referred to in this Article.

**CHAPTER VII**

FINAL CLAUSES

*Article 23*

(a) The present Treaty shall be ratified by the States which sign it, including Japan, and will come into force for all the States which have then ratified it, when instruments of ratification have been deposited by Japan and by a majority, including the United States of America as the principal occupying Power, of the following States, namely Australia, Canada, Ceylon, France, Indonesia, the Kingdom of the Netherlands, New Zealand, Pakistan, the Republic of the Philippines, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America. The present Treaty shall come into force of each State which subsequently ratifies it, on the date of the deposit of its instrument of ratification.

(b) If the Treaty has not come into force within nine months after the date of the deposit of Japan's ratification, any State which has ratified it may bring the Treaty into force between itself and Japan by a notification to that effect given to the Governments of Japan and the United States of America not later than three years after the date of deposit of Japan's ratification.

*Article 24*

All instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Government of the United States of America which will notify all the signatory States of each such deposit, of the date of the coming into force of the Treaty under paragraph (a) of Article 23, and of any notifications made under paragraph (b) of Article 23.


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*Article 25*

For the purposes of the present Treaty the Allied Powers shall be the States at war with Japan, or any State which previously formed a part of the territory of a State named in Article 23, provided that in each case the State concerned has signed and ratified the Treaty. Subject to the provisions of Article 21, the present Treaty shall not confer any rights, titles or benefits on any State which is not an Allied Power as herein defined; nor shall any right, title or interest of Japan be deemed to be diminished or prejudiced by any provision of the Treaty in favour of a State which is not an Allied Power as so defined.

*Article 26*

Japan will be prepared to conclude with any State which signed or adhered to the United Nations Declaration of 1 January 1942, and which is at war with Japan, or with any State which previously formed a part of the territory of a State named in Article 23, which is not a signatory of the present Treaty, a bilateral Treaty of Peace on the same or substantially the same terms as are provided for in the present Treaty, but this obligation on the part of Japan will expire three years after the first coming into force of the present Treaty. Should Japan make a peace settlement or war claims settlement with any State granting that State greater advantages than those provided by the present Treaty, those same advantages shall be extended to the parties to the present Treaty.

*Article 27*

The present Treaty shall be deposited in the archives of the Government of the United States of America which shall furnish each signatory State with a certified copy thereof.

IN FAITH WHEREOF the undersigned Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty.

DONE at the city of San Francisco this eighth day of September 1951, in the English, French, and Spanish languages, all being equally authentic, and in the Japanese language.

Argentina:
Hipólito J. PAZ

For Australia:
Percy C. SPENDER

For Belgium:
Paul VAN ZEELAND
SILVERCRUYS

For Bolivia:
Luis GUACHALLA

For Brazil:
Carlos MARTINS
A. DE MELLO-FRANCO

For Cambodia:
PHLENG

For Canada:
Lester B. PEARSON
R.W. MAYHEW

For Ceylon:
J.R. JAYEWARDENE
G.C.S. COREA
R.G. SENANAYAKE

For Chile:
F. NIETO DEL RÍO

For Colombia:
Cipríano RESTREPO
JARAMILLO
Sebastián OSPINA

For Costa Rica:
J. Rafael OREAMUNO
V. VARGAS
Luis DOBLES SÁNCHEZ

For Cuba:
O. GANS
L. MACHADO
Joaquín MEYER

For the Dominican Republic:
V. ORDÓÑEZ
Luis F. THOMEN

For Ecuador:
A. QUEVEDO
R.G. VALENZUELA

For Egypt:
Kamil A. RAHIM

For El Salvador:
Héctor DAVID CASTRO
Luis RIVAS PALACIOS

For Ethiopia:
Men YAYEJIJRAD

For France:
SCHUMANN
H. BONNET
Paul-Émile NAGGIAR

For Greece:
A.G. POLITIS

For Guatemala:
E. CASTILLO A.
A.M. ORELLANA
J. MENDOZA

For Haiti:
Jacques N. LÉGER
Gust. LARAQUE

For Honduras:
J.E. VALENZUELA
Roberto GÁLVEZ B.
Raúl ALVARADO T.

For Indonesia:
Ahmad SUBARDJO

For Iran:
A.G. ARDALAN

For Iraq:
A.I. BAKR

For Laos:
SAVANG

For Lebanon:
Charles MALIK

For Liberia:
Gabriel L. DENNIS
James ANDERSON
Raymond HORACE
J. Rudolf GRIMES

For the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg:
Hugues LE GALLAIS

For Mexico:
Rafael DE LA COLINA
Gustavo DÍAZ ORDAZ
A.P. GASGA

For the Netherlands:
D.U. STIKKER
J.H. VAN ROIJEN

For New Zealand:
C. BERENDSEN

For Nicaragua:
G. SEVILLA SACASA
Gustavo MANZANARES

For Norway:
Wilhelm Munthe MORGENSTERNE

For Pakistan:
ZAFRULLAH KHAN

For Panama:
Ignacio MOLINO
José A. REMON
Alfredo ALEMÁN
J. CORDOVEZ

For Peru:
Luis Oscar BOETTNER

For the Republic of the Philippines:
Carlos P. RÓMULO
J.M. ELIZALDE
Vicente FRANCISCO
Diosdado MACAPAGAL
Emiliano T. TIRONA
V.G. SINCO

For Saudi Arabia:
Asad AL-FAQIH

For Syria:
F. EL-KHOURI

For Turkey:
Feridun C. ERKIN

For the Union of South Africa:
G.P. JOOSTE

For the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland:
Herbert MORRISON
Kenneth YOUNGER
Oliver FRANKS

For the United States of America:
Dean ACHESON
John Foster DULLES
Alexander WILEY
John J. SPARKMAN

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José A. MORA

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Antonio M. ARAUJO
R. GALLEGOS M.

For Viet-Nam:
T.V. HUU
T. VINH
D. THANH
BUU KINH

For Japan:
Shigeru YOSHIDA
Hayato IKEDA
Gizo TOMABECHI
Niro HOSHIJIMA
Muneyoshi TOKUGAWA
Hisato ICHIMADA

## FIGURES RELATED TO JAPAN'S POSTWAR REPARATIONS

(text and figures courtesy of the Consulate General of Japan, San Francisco)

Estimate of the foreign assets Japan relinquished after the war: $28,014,000,000 (as of August 15, 1945)

Reparations and economic aid in place of reparations: Total: 945,530,000,000 yen

Breakdown:
Reparations and untied economic aid: 604,750,000,000 yen
Tied economic aid: 340,780,000,000 yen

| Country | Reparations | Loans | Additional Untied Aid | Additional Loan |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Myanmar | 72 billion yen (1955) | 18 billion yen (1955) | 50.4 billion yen (1963) | 10.8 billion yen (1963) |
| The Philippines | 198 billion yen (1956) | 90 billion yen (1956) | | |
| Indonesia | 80.3 billion yen (1958) | 144 billion yen (1958) | Cancelled bond 63.7 billion yen | |
| Vietnam | 14.04 billion yen (1960) | 5.976 billion yen (1960) | | |
| Laos | | | Untied aid 1 billion yen (1958) | |
| Cambodia | | | Untied aid 1.5 billion yen (1959) | |
| Malaysia | | | Untied aid 2.94 billion yen (1968) | |
| Singapore | | | Untied aid 2.94 billion yen (1968) | |
| South Korea | | 72 billion yen (1965) | Untied aid 108 billion yen (1965) | |
| Micronesia | | | Untied aid 1.8 billion yen (1969) | |

(a) Reparations for former war prisoners and those who were in interred:
Payment to the Red Cross International Committee (1955): 4.526 billion yen

(b) Monetary gift for the Dutch who were in internment (1956): 3.6 billion yen

Almost all reparations were given between 1950 and 1960. The exchange rate at that time was very different from the current rate, and Japan's economy was far weaker than now. Japan sincerely tried to do as much as possible given its circumstances at that time. For instance, $550 million was paid to the Philippines as the result of the treaty signed in 1956. This amount was equal to 58.5 percent of Japan's foreign reserves and 18.2 percent of the annual national budget at that time.

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## LESSON FOUR

**Handout #4: *Trivial Matters***

<http://www.census.gov/>

<http://www.census.gov/foreign-trade/aip/h-edbrel-9899.pdf>

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<http://jin.jcic.or.jp/stat/>

<http://www.fedstats.gov>

<http://www.starbucks.co.jp/en>

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## APPENDICES

**San Francisco Peace Treaty**
<http://www.isop.ucla.edu/eas/documents/peace1951.htm>

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